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BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE, GUNTUR DISTRICT

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.

Archæological Assistant, Madras Museum

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I

Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.

Archæological Assistant, Madras Museum

(PUBLISHED, DECEMBER 1929)

Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near the village of Goli in Palnad Taluk, Guntur District.

By

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.,

Archaeological Assistant, Madras Government Museum.

In 1926 portions of a stupa were dug out from a small mound in a field adjoining the village of Goli in the Palnad Taluk, Guntūr District. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry was responsible for the excavation of the stupa ; and the sculptures that are described here were acquired with his aid and transported to this Museum, with the exception of a naga, a long frieze from the southern side of the stupa and two small sculptures, which are still on the site.

Goli is probably the locality referred to by Sewell in his "List of Antiquarian Remains of the Madras Presidency," Vol. 2, p. 60 (1882), under the heading of Mallavaram (Mullawarum). He writes about the place thus :—"In a mound in a field near this place have just been discovered while this notice was in the press two sculptured slabs of white marble similar to those at Amaravati. On one is a seven-headed naga with attendants surrounding it. It seems that there are others in the mound. It is desirable that the place should be carefully watched and examined as soon as possible. The discovery may be one of great importance."

The place which now bears the name of Mallavaram is situated about three miles to the west of the site where the find was made, which is about a mile and a half north-west of Goli on the Gollaru, a tributary of the river Kistna. This stream joins the Kistna about two miles lower down and about 18 miles below Nagarjunakonda, where inscriptions of the Ikshvākus were recently discovered[1].

Before describing the sculptures that are now in the Museum, it will be well briefly to describe the sculptured slabs that are on the site, the chief of which are those discovered by Sewell in 1882. One, according to his description, is a seven-headed naga (see pl. XII[2]). The owner of the site, Mr. Kaniganti Peraya, told me that this naga came to them one day some fifty years back, which coincides with the time of its actual discovery by Sewell in 1882. This account of the find of the naga found favour with the naturally superstitious country folk of those parts who took this version as the truth and commenced worshipping it as "Nāgamayya" or the serpent of Subrahmanya, the son of Śiva. It may be noted that in Hindu iconography a serpent is often shown under the feet of the peacock, the vehicle of Subrahmanya. The term Nāgamayya, as these villagers understand it, is also associated with Subrahmanya himself. The villagers have very recently built a small room adjoining the mound and have placed the naga inside.

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[1] A. R.S.I.E., 1925–26, pp. 92–93 and 1926–27, pp. 71—74.

[2] We are indebted to the Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Southern Circle, for this photograph.

by a boy in front of her that the Buddha was coming and is indicating the seat with her right hand for the Buddha to occupy. Her scanty ornaments as compared with the profuse ones on the other women and her plain attire may indicate that she is Yaśōdharā who, it is said, refused comfort, beauty and pleasure to herself on learning that her lord had renounced everything. The boy in front of her is evidently Rāhula, her son, who has his hands folded in reverence. By the side of the empty throne there is another throne on which is seated a lady. Her proud looks and seeming indifference at what is happening will suggest that she was either a companion of Yaśōdharā, in whose eyes the Buddha was still Prince Siddhārtha, or probably Prajāpati-Gōtamī, the foster mother of the Buddha, to whom the greatness of the Buddha was yet unknown and who, therefore, expected her son to come to her and express his sorrow at having been away from them for such a long time. Another lady seated next to her is just rising from her seat, perhaps to do obeisance to the Buddha, while in front two boys, presumably Rāhula with a companion, are playing. Behind the throne and to the proper left of Yaśōdharā stand five attendant women all of whom are looking at her sympathetically and eagerly. Therefore it is certain that the central figure is Yaśōdharā, for it is she who receives the Buddha in her apartments to pay her obeisance to him.

It is said in the Nidānakathā [1] that when the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu all did obeisance to him including the women of the household, except only "the mother of Rāhula" (Yaśōdharā). "But she, though she told her attendants to go and salute their lord, stayed behind, saying, 'if I am of any value in his eyes, my lord will himself come to me; and when he has come I will pay him reverence'". The Buddha went to her apartments saying "the king's daughter shall in no wise be rebuked, howsoever she may be pleased to welcome me." "And he sat down on the seat prepared for him." When he was thus seated Yaśōdharā fell at his feet and did obeisance even as she had intended.

The oval shaped object behind her head is probably a fan, the handle of which one of the attendant women who stands behind the throne is holding in both her hands. Similar fans are also shown in Amaravati sculptures [2]. The Buddha, who has a halo round his head, is dressed as in Amaravati [3] like a Roman in a toga. While in a majority of sculptures showing the Buddha from Amaravati the cloth goes under the right arm-pit leaving the right shoulder and the right arm bare, here we notice that the cloth completely covers his arm and breast. His left hand holds the folds of the cloth and his right indicates "abhaya" or the pose of dispelling fear. The boy who is playing with a ball, the boy who is inviting the Buddha in by catching hold of his dress and the boy who is speaking to Yaśōdharā are all one and the same person—Rāhula—as is indicated by the use of the same peculiar head-dress in all. We may note that the way that one of the boys who

[1] Trubner's Oriental Series, Vol. I, "Nidānakathā," p. 127.

[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XXVII, fig. 2; VIII, fig. 2; XII, fig. 3; XX, fig. 2. Fergusson, pls. LXI, fig. 2; LXII, fig. 2; LXIII, fig. 3; LXV, fig. 2.

[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XXXIII, fig. 1; XLII, figs. 5 and 6.

holds a water vessel is dressed resembles the Tamilian and Telugu way of dressing of boys to-day. Such details as one boy riding on the back of another, their playing ball and the attitude of the servant by the door enhance the liveliness of the scene depicted. The low wall on the right with an arched roof showing the chaitya-window design and a tree behind would seem to suggest that the scene represented here takes place in a portion of the palace facing a pleasance.

Subjugation of the elephant, Nalagiri (pl. III H).—Devadatta, the wicked cousin of the Buddha, seeing the excellences of the Buddha, conceived in his heart a jealous hatred against him, and was always plotting against his life. This is one such attempt. It happened that a rich citizen of Rājagriha had invited the Buddha and his disciples for a dinner in his house. Devadatta prevailed on the elephant-tamer of king Ajātaśatru, who had a ferocious elephant called Nalagiri [1] to let loose the elephant on the street by which the Buddha would pass with his disciples to reach the house. The elephant was accordingly let out. It is first shown in the sculpture as also in two Amaravati sculptures [2] as doing havoc in the street by goring people, catching hold of them with its trunk and trampling on them. A woman is being actually trampled upon while a man is sitting in front of her looking with dismay at the rushing elephant. Four others, two of whom hold staffs in their hands, are running forward looking back at the elephant. The left side of the panel shows the Buddha coming along the street with his mendicant disciples following him much as in the two sculptures from Amaravati. He is standing with perfect self-possession and over-powering calmness. The elephant, which is shown again as in the Amaravati sculptures, on beholding him comes to itself at once and, bending, worships at his feet while the people around are amazed at the miracle. According to the story all his disciples save Ānanda deserted him on sight of the rushing elephant. The many disciples shown in the sculpture presumably came back when the elephant had fallen at his feet. Thus they are all shown here with hands folded in worship, while the people around lift up their hands in joy and wonder.

Here again we may note that the Buddha is fully dressed as in Plate II F with a robe covering his shoulders and arms while his right hand is extended towards the elephant which is prostrating before him. The monks are dressed like the Buddha and all appear to have their heads shaved or closely cropped. The other people are dressed in the fashion known as the "kaccha," the style of tying the under-cloth prevailing in South India even to-day. A bell is tied to the elephant's body, the bell to warn people of its approach.

FRIEZE No. 2. VESSANTARA JATAKA. (Pls. IV—VI.)

This frieze, or what is left of it, is 7′ 6″ × 11½″ and comes from the east of the stupa. It has only one end, the right one, complete while the other end is missing. It contains

[1] Sometimes called Ratnapāla—Trubner's Oriental Series, "Life of the Buddha," p. 93.

[2] Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, fig. 2.

A. K. Kumaraswami, "Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism," pl. H, p. 68.

The other two pairs in this frieze (pls. II E, and III G) represent persons belonging to the middle class, as is shown by their attire. In both the men have their hair secured in knots at the back as the Tamil and the Telugu people do to-day and are dressed likewise. They have no other clothing than an under garment tied in the fashion styled "kaccha" and no ornaments except wristlets. The women in both are like those in the other pairs but have different head-dresses. That of the woman in one pair (pl. II E) reminds us of what is called the "kondai" (a circular thing with a hole in the centre made of reeds and inserted in the hair, while the hair is dressed or plaited so that it bulges out and takes the shape of the thing itself) which we find generally associated with the child Krishna, while another design looking like the disc of the moon is arranged in front by the side of the kondai. That of the other (pl. III G), is a close-fitting peaked cap with a tail behind resembling a fool's cap. Can she be a courtezan? The latter woman is holding something which looks like a handle with which she seems to threaten the man, like a coquette. The other seems to turn away a little from the man, who offers her something held in his hands, and to express surprise at what the man does by placing her right palm against her chin—the way in which South Indian women express surprise to-day.

Chaddanta Jataka (pl. I C and D).—Two scenes from this story are shown. They are separated by a wall with an arched roof and at one end a chaitya window, the interior of which is fashioned like the Buddhist conventional lotus. The story which these two panels illustrate, briefly runs thus[1] :—The Bodhisattva, in one of his previous births, was born as a royal elephant known as Chaddanta (Sanskrit, Shaḍ-danta=the six-tusked). He had two wives, one of whom conceived a grudge against her lord. She died and in her next birth was born as a woman and married the king of Benares, whose favourite wife she became. As she harboured feelings of revenge against her former elephant-husband, she pretended to be sick and explained to her husband that she saw in her dreams a six-tusked elephant, the possession of whose tusks alone would cure her. A bold hunter named Sonuttara received instructions from her and went to the region of the Himalayas where he found the elephant-king in the midst of his herd. He dug a pit and, when the elephant-king fell into it, he attempted to slay him. The elephant-king learned from him his mission and aided him in sawing off his own tusks. When the tusks were sawn off, the elephant fell down dead. The hunter took the tusks to the queen, who, on receiving them and hearing of the elephant's death, was filled with remorse and died of a broken heart.

The scene on the left (pl. I C) shows the hunter and a number of elephants as does also an Amaravati sculpture[2] from the rail. The left half of this panel shows the elephant-king and other elephants, the former taking or receiving a lotus flower from one of the

[1] The Jataka, Vol. V, edited by Cowell, pp. 20—31.

[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XIX, fig. 1.

elephants that had taken it from what seems to be a pond in front of them. A similar pond is indicated in the Amaravati sculpture by a number of lotuses in a depression among the rocks, from out of which two elephants are getting ashore while six others are enjoying a bath in it. The right half of the panel shows the pit dug by the hunter and in it the elephant-king. A similar pit with Chaddanta and the hunter in it is shown in the Amaravati sculpture. The former is kneeling down and showing his tusks to the hunter, who, also kneeling down, is sawing them. Chaddanta aids him in his work by catching hold of one end of the saw with his trunk and pulling it to and fro against his own tusks, while his tail is writhing as though he is enduring intense pain, as the tusks are being cut. Possibly with a view to show that the tusks of the elephant were much coveted one of his tusks is shown rather prominently in both places.

Above the pit the hunter is seen, as in the Amaravati sculpture, hurrying to the city with the tusks suspended to a pole placed on his shoulders. While, however, he is shown here as carrying two tusks and walking to the right, in the Amaravati sculpture he carries four tusks suspended to a pole and walks to the left.

We come now to the next scene (pl. I D), and to the royal apartments of the king of Benares. The part of the story shown here was also sculptured in a similar way at Amaravati [1]. In both these sculptures the king, who wears a high ornamental head-dress, indicating his royalty, is seen seated on his throne and his queen is swooning on his lap, or perhaps falling down dead, at sight of the two tusks, which the hunter is showing her on a round basket. The king is trying to prevent her fall. There are four attendant women, one a little in advance, standing round the throne, whose anxious looks show that they are shocked at seeing their queen falling down. We may also note the curious knot or head ornament that is shown on the crown of one of the attendant women on the left.

According to the story the hunter is said to present the tusks to the queen saying, "here are his tusks; the beast is dead." The tusks presented are only two, though the elephant is said to have had six in all. The text has a reference in one place only to the actual number of tusks required by the queen. When she was an elephant she is said to have put up a prayer to the Pacceka-Buddhas to the effect that she should become the queen of Benares in her next birth, and that she should prevail on the king to send a hunter and slay the elephant and thus "may I be able to have brought to me a pair of his tusks that emit six-coloured rays" [2].

Buddha's visit to Yaśōdharā (pl. II F).—The Buddha is here seen in the act of entering a woman's apartments. A man in a jester's cap and with a staff in his hands is looking at the Buddha with reverence. The attendant women are doing obeisance to the Buddha while a boy is inviting him in and another holds water in a vessel for the Buddha to wash his feet. On the extreme right of the apartment, a lady, evidently Yaśōdharā, his wife while he was Prince Siddhārtha, has risen up from a seat on seeing or being told

[1] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. XVI, fig. 6.

[2] The Jataka, Vol. V, edited by Cowell, p. 22.

The naga is of the ordinary cobra type with seven hoods and is of excellent workmanship. Only three fragments of such nagas, all possibly belonging to one figure, smaller than the Goli one, have been found at Amaravati. They are now in the Madras Museum. Chaitya slabs which are common at Amaravati as elsewhere show that a naga of this type stood out from the surface of the stupa opposite at least one of the four gateways in the railing. Presumably the Goli naga occupied a similar position. The Goli naga is in two pieces but the break is not noticeable. Where the seven hoods meet there is designed a small stupa with a worshipper on either side and a dwarf with a flower basin on his head by the side of the worshipper. Apparently these figures must be those referred to by Sewell as "attendants surrounding it." The height of the naga above the ground is 4 feet 7 inches but a small portion of its bottom is under the earth. The total breadth of the spread hoods is 3 feet 4 inches.

The second sculpture referred to in Sewell's account is a long frieze about the length of frieze No. 2 of those now in the Museum, containing about seven panels, most of them illustrating scenes from the Buddha's life. We can locate this frieze as from the south of the stupa as the other three friezes which have reached us were found by Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil in the other three directions. The villagers, who could not understand what the scenes on the sculpture meant, did not know what to do with it. So the stone was left uncared for till the construction of the room round the naga when they fixed it in one of the walls. This frieze like two of those that have reached us is not complete.

Somewhere about the time of the construction of the room, or before it, the villagers seem to have come across two small slabs of the same white marble, one showing a small stupa and the other the foot-prints of the Buddha. Unable to explain the design of the stupa on one slab they fixed it inverted on the left side of the entrance to the room. The other slab, they called "Ammavāru-pāda" (i.e., feet of the Goddess) and fixed it on the right side of the entrance. Thus the villagers gave them the place of dvārapālakas (door-keepers) not knowing how else to make use of them. The foot-prints are well carved and show the thousand-rayed chakra, the trisula (trident) and the swastika symbols, which together are distinctive of Buddha's feet.

The sculptures above described could not be removed as the public of the place opposed all idea of removing the naga which they had taken to worship as Nāgamayya and as the other three sculptures were fixed on the walls of the room constructed round the naga. All others have been removed to the Madras Museum. These will now be described.

FRIEZE No. 1. (Pls. I—IV.)

This frieze, 12′ 3½″ × 1′ 3″, is from the west of the stupa and is the only one which is complete. It consists of three main panels and two nagarajas separated by subsidiary panels, each bearing a pair of human figures.

Nagarajas(pl.I A and IV J).—At the ends of the frieze are sculptured standing figures of nagarajas with the seven hoods of a serpent raised over their human heads. A nagaraja is generally shown in Buddhist sculptures with a sevenfold snakehood, and a nagini (female naga) with a single snake hood over her head[1]. The halo round the head of the nagaraja on the left (pl. I A) was intended to be cut into serpent's hoods such as are seen in the one on the right (pl. IV J). The two figures are perfectly symmetrical, the only difference between them being that the right one only is well finished and shows all the details that the sculptor wanted to portray. They can be compared to the Hindu dvārapālakas (door-keepers) who guard the entrance to every Hindu shrine. The right hand and the right leg of the nagaraja on the left (pl. I A) rest on a serpent's coils and *vice versa* in the case of the one on the right (pl. IV J), while the other hand of each is placed on the hips. In the matter of dress and ornamentation they can be compared to similar nagarajas found in the Amaravati sculptures.[2] Like the Amaravati nagarajas they are naked except for a loin cloth passing round the waist with folds hanging in front and between the legs and on the sides, while head-dresses characteristic of the nobility of the period rest on their heads. In general workmanship and style of sculpturing they are indistinguishable from the Amaravati ones and given both we cannot tell which is from Amaravati and which from Goli.

Pairs of human figures, (pls. I B, II E, III G, IV I).—The subsidiary panels which bear pairs of human figures, a man and a woman, as in Amaravati[3], are on either side of or inserted between larger panels representing episodes from the life of the Buddha or his jatakas or previous birth stories.

The pairs shown in pls. I B and IV I represent persons of nobility or royalty, as can be seen from their dress. The women in both are dressed and ornamented alike, being naked except for a waist zone which goes round their hips with a flap hanging down in front. Their hair is secured in top-knots. Their ornaments are ear-rings (kuṇḍalas) necklaces, armlets, wristlets and anklets. The men in both the pairs are dressed like the nagarajas already described. While, however, the man in one pair (pl. IV I) wears a head-dress which shows him to be a king or a prince, the man in the other pair (pl. I B) wears a close-fitting cap with two knots, one on each side, and for this reason may be said to come next to the royalty in status. The figures in these pairs are all engaged in love making—a popular theme for the sculptor. The pair shown in pl. IV I is the one which most closely resembles the pairs from Amaravati.

[1] In the legends relating to the life of the Buddha, the nagas play as prominent a part as in Brahmanical lore. The dreaded serpent demons are generally represented as devout worshippers of the Buddha. But a naga in the form of a snake—usually many headed to indicate its demoniacal nature—is exceptional in Buddhist writings. Usually the naga becomes a human being possessed with human qualities and those moral virtues which are specially commended in the teachings of the Sangha or Buddhist order of mendicants. It is, however, clearly stated in Buddhist literature that the naga is an inferior and degenerate being, whose snake-birth is a consequence of his evil karma —Vogel's "Indian Serpent-Lore," p. 93.

[2] Fergusson, pls. LX, LXII, LXXII, fig. 2; LXXXIII, fig. 2.

[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XL, fig. 1; XLII, fig. 9; XXXVIII, fig. 1.

five or six panels showing scenes from the Vessantara Jataka (Sanskrit, Vaiśyantara Jataka), the last of the previous births or jatakas of the Buddha, when he appeared as a prince called Vessantara because he was born in Vaiśya street amidst the vaiśyas or merchants. Prince Vessantara was devoted to giving gifts and alienated the subjects of his father, the king, by giving away to the Kalinga brahmins a white elephant which produced rain wherever it went. The subjects complained to the king against the generosity of the prince and prevailed on him to banish his son to the forest. Accordingly the prince was banished with his family into the forest where he gave away by degrees to brahmins who approached him his chariot, horses, and two children, and to Sakra, the king of the gods, his own wife, when he demanded her as a gift, chiefly to put the prince's generosity to the test. Sakra revealed his form and gave her back to the prince together with many boons. The children were set free by their grandfather, the king, through whose land they happened to be taken by the brahmin. With the aid of his grandchildren the king sought the prince and his wife in the forest and brought them to the kingdom where all ended well.[1]

Nowhere does this jataka seem to have been so elaborately and richly sculptured as in the frieze which is described below.

Sculpture A (pl. IV).—Prince Vessantara is here seen going towards the alms hall, the place where he used to make the gifts, mounted on the elephant and accompanied by his attendants. Among those that precede him one carries a long sword in his right hand, another a basin on his head and a third a water vessel. The basin is intended, as appears in the next panel, to receive the water that will be poured down into the hands of the recipient by the donor as a formal token of the gift. Another in the group holds a staff in his hand. We can discern among those that follow the prince one with a sword in his hand. Probably the men with swords and the man with the staff are court officers or soldiers. The prince is holding a staff (goad ?) in his right hand. His head-dress is evidently the type of head-dress worn by the royalty and nobility of the times.

The roofed wall on the left, which shows the chaitya-window design very clearly, separates this panel from the one on the extreme left which is broken. What remains of the broken panel shows the figure of a man with a sheath suspended from his side and a turban on his head, probably a courtier who sees something and hurries towards it, while above him a man's head is seen with eyes centred on the object which engages the attention of the courtier.

Sculpture B (pl. V).—The prince is here as in Amaravati[2] seen giving away the elephant to the brahmins from Kalinga where there was drought and a great famine. He is solemnizing the gift by placing the elephant's trunk on the right hand of the receiver and pouring water into his hands In the Amaravati sculptures under reference water is poured into the hands of the receiver, but the elephant's trunk is not placed in the

[1] The Jataka, Vol. VI, edited by Cowell, No. 547.

[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I. pl. XLIII, fig 2.
Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.

receiver's hand. Pl. LXV, fig. 1, of Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship" does, however, suggest that the trunk is about to be placed there. The prince holds a water vessel with a long neck in both his hands as in Amaravati while a dwarf at his back is ready with another vessel full of water to replenish the vessel in case of need. This dwarf is also shown in Amaravati but instead of holding a water vessel he carries on his head a basin and stands below the elephant's trunk to receive in it the water that is poured out. This basin is shown on the ground in the Goli carving. The dress of the prince resembles that of the princes in the Amaravati sculptures[1]. In front of the prince stand the begging brahmins with small bags of provisions for their journey in their left hands and their right ones outstretched eagerly. Some of them hold poles in their hands. As, according to the story, the number of Kalinga brahmins that came to beg the elephant from the prince was eight, the others found in the panel are presumably on-lookers, no doubt the king's subjects, who were grieved to see their rain-giving elephant given away under their very eyes as a gift to another country. It is interesting to note that the brahmins here are dressed much in the same way as modern orthodox brahmins are in the Telugu and Tamil countries and that one of them, the receiver, has got his upper cloth tied in the yajñōpavīta fashion, a typically brahminical mode.

Incensed at the gift of the elephant by the prince, the king's subjects sought an interview with his father and, complaining against his son's generosity, prevailed on him to banish the prince into the forest. This part of the jataka is shown in one sculpture from Amaravati[2].

Sculpture C (pl. V).—The prince is shown as in Amaravati[3] driving a country cart drawn by two bullocks in which is seated his wife, Mādri, with their two children. A tiger, a lion, a monkey, and a scorpion are shown to indicate that they are entering a forest. In front of the prince stand four brahmins who ask him to give them the bullocks. According to the story four brahmins who came to the city to receive gifts from the prince and were told that he was banished and that he was going into a forest in a chariot drawn by four horses went running to the forest to beg of the prince the horses. The prince, it is said, gave them the horses as gifts. In this sculpture a country cart is shown instead of a chariot and two bullocks instead of four horses. The bullock cart with the two bullocks being also shown in the three Amaravati sculptures illustrating this jataka, it seems probable that there was a local version of the story in which the chariot with four horses was replaced by an ordinary country cart with two bullocks. We cannot assume that chariots and horses were unknown to the sculptors as there are many sculptures from Amaravati[4] where both horses and chariots are shown. It might

[1] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XLIII, fig. 2; XXXII, fig. 1.
Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.

[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLIII, fig. 2.

[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XXXII, fig. 1; XLIII, fig. 2.
Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.

[4] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXIV, fig. 1.
Fergusson, pl. LIX, fig. 1.

also be in keeping with the status of the prince as a banished exile to travel in an ordinary and cheap conveyance—a country cart—rather than in a chariot drawn by horses. So arguing the sculptors might have felt justified in deviating from the text generally accepted, even without the authority suggested above.

Sculpture D (pl. V).—This part of the sculpture, which is in direct continuation with the last shows the prince and Mādri taking the place of the bullocks and dragging the cart themselves with their children inside the cart. The two brahmins in front, one with a bag of provisions and the other with an umbrella as in one Amaravati sculpture [1], have come to the forest, like the four that preceded them, to ask the prince to give them a gift. The flying beings above are angels watching the gifts of the prince. We have here two brahmins instead of one as narrated in the story and as represented in Amaravati [2]. The deer below and the lion above help to indicate the forest. Here too, as in the last, we find a tree separating this scene from the next one without, however, disturbing the continuity of the sculpture.

Sculpture E (pl. VI).—The prince, after having given away his cart, walks in the forest with his boy mounted on his shoulders as in one Amaravati sculpture [3], while Mādri follows him with the girl on her hip. In the Amaravati sculpture, however, Mādri is shown as carrying the girl on her shoulders like the prince. The lions above and the boars and the deer below indicate the forest.

Sculpture F (pl. VI).—This shows the front of a hut in which the prince was dwelling with his family in forest. A similar hut is shown in all the Amaravati sculptures representing this jataka [4]. Animals, particularly deer, are shown by the side of the hut here as well as in Amaravati [5]. To the left of the hut the prince is seen presenting his two children to a brahmin. The gift of the children is said to have taken place by the side of the hut when the queen was away in the forest collecting provisions and is thus presented in the Amaravati sculptures also [6]. The brahmin has his right hand stretched out as in Amaravati above the heads of the children and the prince is pouring water into it, while the brahmin holds an umbrella in his left hand, as also in Amaravati [7]. The sculptor displays some humour by showing three monkeys behind the brahmin, one pulling the umbrella which he holds, another dragging his under-cloth, and a third mischievously wondering how to annoy the brahmin in some other way. Another

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[1] Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.

[2] Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.
A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLIII, fig. 2.

[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLIII, fig. 2.

[4] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XXXII, fig. 1; XLIII, fig. 2.
Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.

[5] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 1.
Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.

[6] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 1.
Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.

[7] Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.

monkey perched on the roof of the hut is watching the scene below and looks as though it might jump on to the brahmin, perhaps to prevent thereby the gift of the children. The action of the monkeys would indicate that even the beasts were displeased and distressed at the gift of the children. Above all this is another scene. The brahmin with an umbrella in his left hand is seen driving away the children, beating them with a staff which he holds in his right hand. The children are clinging to each other and looking back with terror at the brahmin. According to the story the brahmin went into the jungle, bit off a creeper and with it bound the boy's right hand to the girl's left and drove them away beating them with the ends of the creeper.

Sculpture G (pl. VI).—The scene to the right of the hut shows the prince in meditation under a tree with his legs crossed and his palms placed one over the other. Mādri is seen approaching him from the forest, much fatigued and carrying on her shoulder as in Amaravati [1] a bamboo to the ends of which are suspended two baskets, doubtless containing the fruits and other provisions that she had collected. This type of basket, kāvadi as it is called, is still used in these parts for carrying things, especially water-pots. She is approaching him trembling, either apprehending some mishap at home, or at sight of the heads of lions in front of her, which are also shown in Amaravati. It is said that the gods, in order to aid the prince in his gift of the children without any obstruction from their mother, detained her purposely in the forest till dusk by presenting before her a lion, a tiger, and a leopard which obstructed her way. The presence, therefore, of the lions' heads in the sculpture fits in with this detail in the story. The seeming meditation of the prince was assumed by him as he wanted to avoid causing grief to his wife by explaining to her how he had parted with the children. He thought that he might stop her putting him questions regarding the children if she found him silent and in meditation, there being an agreement between them that she should not disturb him when he was thus engaged [2]. The sculptor has added life to the scene by introducing such beasts as deer, monkey, squirrel and snake. The introduction of a night bird into the scene is significant, for it shows that the sun had already set and that Mādri, who was much fatigued, was able to return only very late, after dusk.

Sculpture H (pl. VI).—The last panel in the frieze illustrates an incident in the story which is but an indication of the reconciliation that followed. King Sanjaya, the father of the prince, is seated as in Amaravati [3] on a throne with his grandchildren, Jāli and Kanhājinā, one on each knee. Two attendants hold chamaras (fly whisks) at his back and a dwarf sits on the ground in front with his face up-turned, looking at the group above, his left hand pointing at a vessel presumably containing some drink. It would seem that he is trying to turn the attention of the king from his grandchildren to the drink before him. The roof above shows three chaitya arches or kudus of the type

[1] Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.
A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 1.

[2] The Jataka, Vol. VI, edited by Cowell, pp. 270 and 291.

[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 1.

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occurring in the Amaravati sculptures and other Buddhist buildings, the forerunners of the modern kudu which we so often see in South Indian temples.

The story relating to the scene briefly runs thus:—The children who were given away to the brahmin were taken through the city of their grandfather, the king. The gods, it is said, brought the brahmin and the children to the palace. The king learnt from the brahmin that they were his own grandchildren, whom and whose parents he felt he had much wronged. He requested them to get on his lap but they refused saying that they were not free and that the prince had set prices on them if they should be free. The king paid the brahmin the prices he demanded and after setting them free "took one on his hip, while their grandmother took the other." But in the sculpture we find that both the children are seated on the knees of their grandfather whose portly form indicates that he was enjoying affluence while his son was suffering in the forest.

The payment of the prices demanded by the brahmin for their release, followed by the children getting on their grandfather's knees, is represented in one Amaravati sculpture[1] while in the Goli sculpture the latter part alone is sculptured leaving the first part to be inferred. The latter parts of the story, *viz.*, the prince's forest-life after banishment, the gift of the children to the brahmin and of Mādri to Sakra, and the king seeking his son and Mādri in the forest with the aid of his grandchildren, are vividly and elaborately sculptured at Sanchi[2]. Fergusson, who fails to identify it as a jataka, suggests that it is "the most complete picture of Dasyu life and manners which the Sanchi Tope affords."[3] But in view of this identification his suggestion cannot be maintained.

Sculpture I (pl. VI).—To the right of this panel and marking one end of the frieze stands a yakshi (dryad) associated with a tree as on the upper part of the Sanchi gateway. She wears an ornamental girdle, anklets, wristlets and ear-rings and stands in a sensuous attitude playing on a harp with her left foot resting on the head of a makara. This figure, like the Sanchi ones, is beautifully expressive, "but in their vivid pagan utterance of the love of life, how little can we call them early Buddhist art."[4] The other end of the frieze, which is missing, must have had a similar yakshi, and Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil distinctly remembers having seen it. Such yakshis and nagas and other ornamental figures serve the same artistic purpose as the Hindu dvārapālakas.

No. 4. WORSHIP OF THE STUPA. (Pl. VII.)

This is a small slab 1′ 7½″ × 1′ in surface measurement. The different parts of the stupa are all well shown. Over a lotus base is placed a railing with pilasters, and above the railing is a dome with garlands and a circle where they cross each other, on its surface. The box-like capital rests on the dome and is surmounted by the rough outline of perhaps

1 A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 1.

2 Fergusson, pl. XXXII, fig. 2.

3 Fergusson, p. 129.

4 A. K. Kumaraswami, "Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism," p. 325.

an umbrella at the top, and by two rows of four umbrellas placed one over the other, one on each side. To the left of the stupa stand two men worshipping it while a lady prostrates herself before it, but the stone is much damaged here. To the right of it stands a woman with a basket of flowers in her left hand while her right hand is raised up as if in the act of worshipping the stupa with flowers. Another woman prostrates herself before the stupa like the one on the left, while a boy stands behind with his hands folded in worship (anjali). Such scenes are common at Amaravati.

FRIEZE No. 3. (Pls. VII A, VIII.)

The temptation of the Buddha (pl. VII).—This frieze, incomplete on either side and much worn, is from the north side of the stupa and is 4′ 1″ × 1′ in area. The lower margin includes a sunk band in which are inserted at intervals of about 5″ heads of those "nondescript sphinx-like animals"[1] (lions?) that recur so often in Amaravati. The Buddha, who can be distinguished by a halo round his head, is sitting on a platform under the bodhi tree, while Māra's daughters surround him and try to tempt him in all ways to wean him away from his purpose. Two of Māra's daughters stand on the right while the third (the sculpture is here much damaged) stands on the left. The Buddha is raising his right hand in disdain, indicating that he will never succumb to Māra's temptations. It is interesting to note that the Buddha has two robes, an under cloth and an upper cloth with which he has partially covered his chest in the yajñōpavīta fashion (crosswise from the left shoulder). Further to the right warriors and goblins are seen departing from the spot apparently defeated. These were sent by Māra to attack the Buddha and divert his attention, and they depart when the Buddha attains Buddhahood in spite of their attempts to prevent it.

Māra himself is seen mounted on an elephant, turning back as he departs and worshipping the Buddha, thereby indicating that he accepts defeat, while another figure, perhaps the mahout, is seated behind him also worshipping the Buddha. Māra riding an elephant is seen in six of the Amaravati sculptures, one from the rail[2] and five from the casing[3]. In the attitude of Māra and the presence of someone behind him on the elephant this sculpture presents a striking resemblance to one on the Amaravati casing[4].

The Buddha's temptation is a favourite scene among early Buddhist sculptors. But it is not usual to find Māra shown as riding an elephant and worshipping the Buddha. Six instances have however been found in Amaravati as noted above. A passage from the "Nidānakathā,"[5] however, will help us to identify the person on the elephant as Māra and

[1] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 79.
[2] Fergusson, pl. LVIII, fig. 1.
[3] Fergusson, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 3.
A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XXXI, fig. 6; XXXII, fig. 4; XXXVI, fig. 3; XXXVIII, fig. 5.
[4] Fergusson, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 3.
[5] Trubner's Oriental Series, Vol. I, "Nidānakathā," p. 97.

a free translation of it runs thus:—"Then Māra, the angel, mounted his elephant, two hundred and fifty leagues high, named Girimekhala (girded with mountains) . . . so he called on his host and said 'why stand you still? seize, or slay or drive away this Prince.' He himself mounted the Mountain Girded and, seated on his back, approached the future Buddha and cried out 'Get up Siddhārtha, from that seat.'" Again on p. 180 of Hardy's Manual of Buddhism (a translation from a Singhalese manuscript), Māra is referred to thus:—"So saying he mounted his elephant, Girimekhala and brandishing his formidable discus on every side he approached the prince." The fact that he is shown as worshipping the Buddha with folded hands presumably means that Māra accepts defeat at the hands of the Buddha and recognizes the Buddha's superiority over him. Here also Hardy's book (p. 182) helps us for Māra is said to have exclaimed—"Oh Prince Siddhartha! I perceive that thou art powerful, and that thou art glorious. I will proclaim thy courage to the world, I will proclaim thy power: forgive, forgive," and so saying to have fled to his own world.

The division between the scenes on the slab is made by three knobs or rivet-heads as in Amaravati, neatly carved like a full-blown lotus. In Amaravati, however, the middle knob in each is sometimes carved with small figures. [1]

Pair of human figures (pl. VIII B).—In a small panel between two rows of these knobs stand a man and a woman. The man has his head half turned towards the woman, who has her head turned away from him and shows him her back. Her left hand is thrown back over her head. She is seemingly cross with the man, presumably her lover, but having turned away from him, fears that he may depart and so has thrown her hand back in half reconciliation.

Sujātā feeding the Bodhisattva (pl. VIII C).—The next scene on the right is much worn and is broken at the right end. The Bodhisattva, who is seated on a stone, is served with food by Sujātā, the daughter of the village headman of Uruvela. He is washing his hands with water poured out from a vessel held by one lady while another holds another vessel with a handle containing, perhaps, food. Another lady prostrates herself before the Bodhisattva, while three more stand in reverent attitudes behind the lady with the water vessel. The foremost among these three holds something in her hand, perhaps food. Another woman belonging to this group stands behind the Bodhisattva writing something on or pointing at a circular disc on the wall. Her significance is not clear. The Bodhisattva has his upper garment thrown over his chest in the yajñōpavīta fashion.

The presence in the panel of so many women besides Sujātā is somewhat puzzling, as most of the Buddhist texts speak of Sujātā alone carrying rice boiled with milk to the Bodhisattva just before his enlightenment. The "Nidānakathā," however, says that Sujātā approached the Bodhisattva with this food accompanied by her slave girl, Punnā. A Tibetan account of the life of the Buddha derived from such sources as the Lalita-vistara, which was translated by Rockhill [2], speaks of two daughters of the village headman Sena,

[1] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLII, fig. 4.

[2] Trubner's Oriental Series, "Life of the Buddha," p. 30.

named Nandā and Nandābalā who prepared milk soup for the Bodhisattva and carried it to him. I base my identification on an account of the feeding of the Bodhisattva found in "The Buddha and his Religion," by J. Barthelemy St. Hilaire. He says that Sujātā was very much devoted to the Bodhisattva and was feeding him assisted by ten of her women. The broken part of the sculpture may perhaps have contained the remaining three women. R. S. Hardy says in his "Manual of Buddhism" that Sujātā carried the food to the tree where the Bodhisattva was sitting resplendent, accompanied by a procession of sixteen thousand maidens and that she afterwards brought perfumed water that he might wash his hands. We read also that the five mendicants, who became later on the Buddha's first disciples, and who were subjecting themselves to all sorts of mortifications, lost their confidence in the Buddha when he took food from the village girls and viewed his action with distrust.

The halo round his head is unusual in scenes before he had attained Buddhahood. The "Nidānakathā," however, and other books like "The Buddha" by Edith Holland speak of a shining halo and rays of golden light issuing forth from the body of the Bodhisattva when Sujātā went to the tree under which he was seated to offer him food, on seeing which "she took him for the god who had answered her prayers." Almost all the books that speak of the life of the Buddha are agreed in saying that rays of light issued forth from the Bodhisattva when Sujātā was approaching him.

No. 5. THE BUDDHA PREACHING. (Pl. IX.)

This slab, which is unfortunately broken at the top, is 4′ 10″ × 3′ 1″ while the sculptural portion alone is 3′ 4″ × 2′ 10½″. The same scene is represented in six Amaravati sculptures[1]. It shows the Buddha seated cross-legged as in these six, on a throne with his left hand placed on his lap indicating half-meditation and his right hand (which is missing) raised in the "abhaya mudra," the posture of dispelling fear. In one of the Amaravati sculptures[2], however, the left hand is raised and holds the edge of the upper cloth. To the Buddha's right are seen the hand and the breast of a person whose head is missing. He was evidently holding a chamara or fly-whisk over the head of the Buddha. A similar figure, broken and missing, must have stood to the left of the Buddha. Such attendant figures are shown in the Amaravati sculptures too. Below the throne and in front of the Buddha are seated three disciples or worshippers. Two of them worship the Buddha with folded hands showing their front to the spectator while a third, the central figure, similarly dressed, worships him with his back turned towards us. They have head-dresses characteristic of the royalty and the nobility of the times, kuṇḍalas (ear-rings), necklaces and armlets. Similar head-dresses and ornaments are shown in the Amaravati sculptures[3].

[1] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XVI, figs. 3 and 4; XLI, fig. 6; XLII, fig. 9; XLVI, fig. 1; XXVI, fig. 1.

[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLI, fig. 6.

[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XLVI, fig. 1; XVI, figs. 3 and 4.

No. 6. PRINCE SIDDHĀRTHA. (Pl. IX.)

This is another slab from the north-eastern side of the stupa and is 5′ 3″ × 3′, the sculptural portion alone being 4′ 3″ × 3′. It is unfortunately broken and in four pieces. The figure is probably that of Prince Siddhārtha. The head-dress with a bird in the middle, the profuse ornaments—including ear-rings, necklaces, armlets and wristlets—with which the figure is decked, the chattra or the royal umbrella which a dwarfish yaksha holds over him and the cow-tail chamara which another yaksha holds in front, all indicate that the figure represents a royal person, and yakshas indicate the Bodhisattva.

The right hand of the figure holds a bunch of flowers and the left rests on the hip. The royal kundalas in the ears, which are symmetrically arranged, add dignity to the figure. The dwarfish yakshas look gratified and seem to gloat over their good fortune in serving such a grand master.

No. 7. CHAITYA SLAB. (Pl. X.)

This chaitya slab is 5′ 1½″ × 3′ 1″ in area. Above the base are three bands with three panels above them. The two lower bands bear roughly cut lotus petals except on the left where they are plain, presumably unfinished. The three panels are separated from each other by crude pilasters on which the dharma-chakra is conspicuous. The band above the panels bears roughly cut lotus petals above the middle one and cross hatching on either side. The two outer panels show the bodhi-tree with garlands hanging from its branches and surrounded by a railing. The central panel contains the principal sculpture, an empty throne with full-blown lotuses, placed one on the throne and the other on its back. A flat pilaster-like design rises above the lotus at the back and is surmounted by a trident. It must be remembered that images of the Buddha are wholly absent in the oldest sculptures as at Sanchi and Bharhut, and that "in cases where his presence must be presupposed, it is indicated by symbols, footprints, a wheel, a seat, or altar with an umbrella with garlands above," and that he, probably, came to be worshipped in the form of images only after the period of Aśoka.

Above the panels rises a dome surmounted by a capital in the form of a graduated and inverted pyramid which is connected with the dome by a neck technically called "gaḷa." Over the doorways in the railing rise five tall stelae as in similar slabs from Amaravati [1]. On either side of the capital is a five-tiered umbrella, with a garland hanging from it. In Amaravati similar umbrellas are found. They are sometimes so multiplied as to have been described by Burgess as "thick foliage." "It is known that the Buddhists themselves attach a symbolical meaning to the stupa or parts of it. The two, three, five, seven, nine and thirteen umbrellas, and the gradations of the inverted pyramid suggest divisions of the Universe." [2]

[1] Fergusson, pls. LXXV—LXXXI.

[2] Kern, "Manual of Indian Buddhism," p. 92.

As representing a relic shrine, these chaityas were probably objects of veneration, which fact is proved in the present case by the Buddhist symbols, the bodhi tree and the sri-pada or foot-prints.

The stone is broken in two as indicated in plate X, one piece bearing the capital and the umbrellas and the other piece, the rest of the chaitya. On the right hand side of the base of the slab, where it is unfortunately chipped, there is a small inscription (plate X) in Brahmi letters, 4" × 1¾" in area. This is fully described on pages 39—41.

No. 8. THE SERMON IN THE DEER-PARK. (Pl. XI.)

This is a small stone, a fragment of a slab broken both at the top and the bottom, measuring 1' 1½" × 9". The scene represented is familiar. An empty seat or throne with cushions behind and below indicates the presence of the Buddha. The two deer in front indicate that the place is Miga-dava (Mṛga-dāva), the deer-park near Sarnath where the Buddha is said to have preached his doctrine for the first time and thereby set the wheel of the law (dharma-chakra) in motion.

No. 9. MĀTI-POSAKA JATAKA. (Pl. XI.)

This is a small slab 1' 7½" × 1' 1½" in area, also apparently unfinished. The centre of the scene is cut out as in wood-work and two elephants have been more or less fully carved. The standing elephant has its trunk raised over the other which is huddled up in front of it. This sculpture seems to represent the "Māti-posaka Jataka" (Sanskrit, Mātṛpōṣaka-Jataka) or "the elephant who supported or fed his mother."[1]

The story briefly narrated runs thus:—The Bodhisattva came into being as a magnificent elephant and was fond of his mother who was blind. Realizing that none else than himself will care well for her and feed her he left the herd of elephants, 80,000 in number, that surrounded him, and went with his mother to a lonely place, Mount Caṇḍōraṇa, where he placed her in a cave beside a lake and attended to her wants.

One day a forester from Benares lost his way in the forest and was loudly lamenting. On hearing his cries the compassionate Bodhisattva took him on his back, carried him out of the forest and showed him the way to the city. The forester, on entering the city, learnt that the king was in need of a state-elephant to succeed the one that had just died. He told the king what he saw in the forest and with his consent left for the forest with elephant-tamers to capture the Bodhisattva. It was easy work for him to capture him and bring him to the city as the Bodhisattva was too virtuous to offer any resistance. "If I give way to anger, my virtue will be marred. So to-day I will not be angry, not even though pierced with knives."[2]

The king took a great liking to him and when the time for feeding him came caused fine and choice food to be placed before him. But not a bit would he eat saying that he would eat nothing without his blind mother whom he had left in a cave by the side of a

[1] The Jataka, Vol. IV, edited by Cowell, No. 455.
[2] The Jataka, Vol. IV, edited by Cowell, p. 59

lake. "My mother by Caṇḍoraṇa, ah blind, ah wretched one! Beats with her foot on some tree-root for lack of me, her son." On hearing this the king gave him his freedom. No sooner was he free than the Bodhisattva ran to the forest where "From the cool and limpid pool, where elephants frequent, he with his trunk drew water, and his mother all besprent!" The blind mother thought that it had begun to rain and cursed the person who brought on the rain—

—"Who brings unseasonable rain-what evil deity?
For he is gone, my own, my son, who used to care for me."

The Bodhisattva explained matters and reassured her thus—

"Rise mother! why should you there lie? your own, your son has come!
Vedeha, Kāsi's glorious king, has sent me safely home."

On hearing this the mother returned thanks to the gods and the king for restoring her son.

The elephant that is shown in the sculpture as lying down is the mother of the Bodhisattva, "lying huddled up in a cave hard by a lake." The small portion of the sculpture in front of the she-elephant and below her son, which shows some lilies and other water-plants represents the "cool and limpid pool" referred to in the story. The Bodhisattva is standing in front of his blind mother, who is not aware of his presence, with his trunk full of water and raised up as if about to pour water over her. That the standing elephant is male and the lying one a female is indicated by the difference in the length of their tusks. The mother looks smaller than her son who appears grand and magnificent. This is in accordance with the story for the Bodhisattva was in the prime of youth and enjoying good health. Otherwise the forester would not have taken pains to get him for his king and the king would not have accepted him as his state-elephant and himself offered him choice food. Moreover, he was the lord of a herd of 80,000 elephants. The mother was blind, old and feeble and almost sinking from grief, being separated from her dear son, who had been taken away to the city. She was starving all the time that her son was away as she had no one to feed her and get her water to drink from the pool.

No. 10. SASA JATAKA. (Pl. XI.)

This small slab is from the eastern side of the stupa and is 1′ 3½″ × 9½″ in area. The scene carved here is from the Sasa Jataka, one of the birth-stories of the Bodhisattva. The same jataka is also shown in one Amaravati sculpture.[1] The story runs briefly thus:—In a forest, frequented by ascetics, the Bodhisattva lived as a hare. He did no being any harm and lived such a virtuous life that he was allowed to behave like the king of animals. But more especially he had won the affections of a monkey, a jackal and an otter. These three friends learnt their lessons in virtue from the hare and behaved like him.

[1] Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, fig. 2.

On a day preceding the full-moon day, which was considered holy as being a fast day, the hare spoke to his friends that they should have alms in readiness the next day to be distributed to the worthy. They readily assented and when the day dawned each brought some kind of food to offer to the guests. The otter got seven rohita or red fish, the jackal a lizard and a pot of sour milk, and the monkey mangoes. The hare thought thus:—"If I find a worthy object what is my gift to be? I live on grass only and one cannot offer grass . . . I shall give him myself; he shall not go hence empty-handed." Sakra, the king of the gods, discerned his thoughts and desirous of putting him to the test came in the form of a brahmin to the forest. He approached the otter, the jackal, and the monkey, one after the other and told them, "Wise Sir, if I could get something to eat, after keeping the fast, I would perform all my priestly duties." And they in turn offered him the things they had got in the morning. The brahmin promised to take them the next day and approached the hare with the same request. The hare offered his own body and asked him to "go, gather wood, and kindle a fire, when I will roast myself; roasted thou mayest consume me." When the brahmin had kindled the fire and had seated himself before it the hare leaped into the air and plunged into the midst of the blazing fire "as the supreme hamsa plunges into a pond with laughing lotuses." But the fire burned him not and Sakra assuming his real form explained how he had come to put the hare's virtue to the test. "And squeezing the mountain, with the essence thus extracted, he daubed the sign of a hare on the orb of the moon" to make his "virtue known throughout a whole aeon."

In this sculpture the hare stands in the centre with its fore-legs raised up as if in the act of plunging into the fire in front of it while at Amaravati it is shown as running and about to fall into the fire. Its friends—the otter, the monkey and the jackal—can be seen behind it watching reverently the event. The monkey holds a big mango in its hands and the jackal, which can be distinguished by its bushy tail, holds something in its mouth, probably the lizard referred to in the story, and the otter stands behind. The monkey and the otter are not shown in the Amaravati sculpture in which there was no room for them, the sculpture being about a foot in length, while the jackal stands on its hind-legs behind the hare. To the right of the fire and in front of the hare squats the brahmin, as in Amaravati, clothed as an ascetic. He is shown as having a beard which is not found in the case of the Amaravati brahmin. The jar by his side and the cups before him are evidently intended for keeping things like water, ghee, etc., necessary for the discharge of his "priestly duties." The brahmin holds his right fist with his left hand—a pose in rituals indicating devout attention and purity (śraddhā). The place where the incident is said to have happened is referred to in the story as one frequented by ascetics, in some inhabited region of a forest. It would be easy, therefore, to account for the presence in the sculpture of a hut behind the brahmin, a stupa farther up and the three persons other than the brahmin. The hut is also shown behind the brahmin in the Amaravati sculpture. The person standing on the extreme left may be taken to be a brahmin or an ascetic. He holds something in his left hand while his right arm is bent and the hand held

in a pose suggesting wonder. Another brahmin sits in front of the fire and by the side of the hare. He seems to be watching the brahmin (Sakra) pouring something, perhaps ghee, into the fire. The third person standing between the two watching brahmins seems to be a man of dignity, perhaps a king as can be gathered from his attire, with a long cap on his head resembling the kirīṭa or royal head-dress generally associated with Vishnu. A similar figure dressed in the same way and standing in the same position with hands lifted and pointing at something above is also shown in the Amaravati sculpture. This suggests that he is none else than Sakra, the erstwhile brahmin, who assuming his real form points at the sky, perhaps at the moon.

Date.

No definite indication of the date of this stupa has yet been discovered. When discussing the date of the Amaravati stupa Burgess came to the conclusion that the investigator "has to depend on a long and wide experience of styles of sculpture, architecture, palæography and the like, to lead him to an approximate date" and that the evidence of style is generally the most trustworthy and inscriptions are the most useful if used with caution [1]. This is also the case with the Goli stupa. The only other known stupa in South India with which we can compare it with advantage is the big stupa at Amaravati about which Burgess says, "No other shrine that we know of in India presented such a profusion of sculpture, and in quality it was unequalled by any. Well might Hiuen Thsang say that it 'displayed all the magnificence of the palaces of Baktria.'" [2]

It was surrounded by a carved rail and ornamented with carved casing slabs. The stupa, according to Burgess, rose to a height of perhaps a hundred feet and must have had a very brilliant effect. It was evidently the greatest stupa of the district. The facts that the rail is said to have been erected through the influence of Nāgārjuna [3], that additions and repairs were made to the stupa in the time of the Sātavāhana king Pulumāvi III [4], that Amaravati, the seat of the stupa, was at one time the capital of the Sātavāhana kings [5] and probably also of the early Pallava kings a little later [6], that the Pallava heir-apparent, Śivaskandavarman, issued a copper plate grant to his father's governor at Dhannakada (Amaravati) requiring him to give a village named Viripara as grant to two brahmins [7], that casing slabs, many of them more elaborately sculptured than even the rail, were erected round the stupa, and that the Buddhist pilgrim from China, Hiuen

[1] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 11.
Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 261.
[4] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pp. 100 and 112.
[5] Jouveau-Dubreuil, "Ancient History of the Deccan," 1920, pp. 40–41.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[7] Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 87.

Thsang visited the place on a pilgrimage [1]—clearly show how great the stupa was considered.

A study of some of the earliest Brahmi inscriptions found on the stupa lead us to the conclusion that the Amaravati stupa is probably the oldest extensively sculptured stupa in South India " dating originally from perhaps about 200 B.C." [2]. From the older stupa at Bhattiprolu, though it was sculptured to some extent, a few fragments only are known [3], one of which is in the Madras Museum.

In Amaravati four periods of construction are easily discernible. First come a few slabs bearing inscriptions or carvings or both which are closely related to those of the Bharhut stupa, and probably date from about the same period (B.C. 200). Next come slabs such as are illustrated on plate XCIII of " Tree and Serpent Worship " by Fergusson. They are broad and of varying heights, containing panels arrranged one above the other, showing generally the Buddha preaching, a vase, or worship of the Buddha's foot-prints placed on a throne, or the dharmachakra or the stupa [4], with a frieze of animals (lions ?) and over them a line of double trisulas [5]. On the strength of the form of the characters of the inscriptions found on these slabs we must conclude that they are older [6] than the railing, and perhaps date from first century B.C. or A.D. [7] The many chaitya slabs (*e.g.* that figured in plate I of A.S.S.I., Vol. I) that apparently formed part of the casing of the basement platform were obviously inspired by the sculptured stupa and its railing and must therefore have been later than either. The outer railing shown on these slabs might, of course, have been taken from an earlier wooden railing of which the stone one must then have been a very close copy. Palæographical evidence, however, precludes the view that these slabs are earlier than the stone railing.

The rail, both sides of which were carefully carved, was about 13′ high and was formed of upright slabs or pillars connected by three cross-bars between each pair of uprights, the whole being surmounted by a coping 2′ 9″ high, ornamented outside with a long wavy flower-roll carried by men. The inner side of the rail was filled with " sculptures of great elaboration and beauty of detail, representing scenes of sacred legend and of everyday life or history [8] ". The sculptures on the outer side were either half discs or full discs and were rather more conventional and uniform in design. The palæography of

[1] Beal, " Buddhist Records of the Western World," Vol. II, p. 221.

[2] Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, " Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions," p. 260. A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 101.

[3] Rea, " South Indian Buddhist Antiquities," pls. VII, VIII and IX.

[4] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 89, fig. 27.

[5] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII, figs. 1, 2 and 3. Fergusson, pls. XCIII, XCIV, XCVI, fig. 4, and XCVII.

[6] Fergusson, p. 216.

[7] Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 260.

[8] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 25.

the inscriptions found on the rail, a popular Tibetan tradition associating the Buddhist Ācārya, Nāgārjuna, with the construction of the rail[1], and an inscription[2] found on a broken slab which "indicates that in his [Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sri-Pulumāvi's] reign or about the middle of the second century, the stupa at Amaravati was undergoing additions or embellishments"[3] go to prove that the rail came into existence in the latter part of the second century A.D.[4]

The casing slabs of the fourth period though only about 6′ high were more richly and elaborately carved than the rail. Plate LXXV of Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship" probably gives a fair idea of the arrangement of the sculptures, though one would infer from observing carefully the chaitya slab shown in pl. I of A.S.S.I., Vol. I, that the chakra pillars rather than the steles terminating in small stupas came next to the chaitya slabs. There might have been other slabs also interposed between these chaitya slabs[5]. The whole seems to have been surmounted by a continuous line of friezes[6] which, like most of the slabs, were richly and elaborately sculptured on one side only. The date assigned to these sculptures on grounds of their style and the form of their inscriptions is the third century A.D.[7]

While there were thus at least four periods of construction in Amaravati this does not appear to have been so in Goli as the stupa is very small and the style of the carvings does not suggest that the sculptures were done at different periods. The whole stupa might even have been built in a few months. Of the different styles of sculpture found at Amaravati that of the fourth period slabs most resembles that of the Goli sculptures. This resemblance must now be examined critically.

The lower margin of the Goli friezes (Nos. 1, 2 and 3) is designed as a sunk band with or without projecting heads of animals resembling those described by Burgess as "non descript Sphinx-like animals" (lions ?) placed at intervals.[8] Frieze No. 3 (A, B and C) shows these animals in the sunk band while the other friezes (Nos. 1 and 2) show in the place of these animals small square projections placed at equal intervals. The average height and width of these friezes agree in general with those of the friezes from the Amaravati fourth period.

Another feature which characterizes both Goli and the Amaravati fourth period friezes is the separation of the scenes by three knobs or rivet-heads, neatly carved and designed

[1] Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 259 and 261.
A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pp. 5 and 11.

[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. LVI, No. 1.

[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 100.

[4] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 12.

[5] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 70.

[6] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XL, fig. 1; XLII, figs. 4, 5 and 6.
Fergusson, pl. LXXXII.

[7] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pp. 12 and 112.

[8] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XLII, figs. 4, 5 and 6; XL, fig. 1 and p. 79.
Fergusson, pl. LXXXII.

like a full blown lotus. Frieze No. 3 may be compared with figs. 4, 5 and 6 of pl. XLII, of A.S.S.I., Vol. I, and pls. LXXXII, figs. 1, 2, 3 and 5; LXXXIII, LXXXIV, figs. 2 and 3 of Fergusson's, "Tree and Serpent Worship."

Attention may now be drawn to the costume of the Buddha. In three of the Goli sculptures (pls. VII A ; VIII C; IX No. 5) his costume is of the usual type, composed of two cloths, an under cloth and an upper cloth, the latter partially covering his chest in the yajñōpavīta fashion and leaving the right shoulder bare. In the other two (pls. II F and III H), however, a loose robe, hanging from the neck to the toes, completely covers his body and nearly the whole of his under cloth. This type of costume in which, according to M Foucher, we can see the Gandhara influence, characterises Buddha statues of the Kushan period (cf. Catalogue of the Archæological Museum, Mathura, pl. XV *a* No. A. 4). The posture of these two figures with the hands raised level with the shoulders also seems to characterise the Kushan style of sculpture. The same posture and robe is found in the majority of sculptures from the fourth period at Amaravati, *e.g.*, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XLII, figs. 5 and 6; XXXIII, fig. 1; Fergusson "Tree and Serpent Worship", pls. LXXXII, fig. 2; LXXXIII, fig. 2; LXXVII. It appears that this indication of Kushan influence on Buddhist sculpture was slowly descending to South India from the second century A.D. and reached the Krishna region about the period of the construction of the rail [1]. But it is evident from the occurrence of this type of Buddha in a majority of sculptures from the fourth period only that this Kushan type of Buddha only came into general use at about this time at Amaravati. The fact that two out of five figures of Buddha from the Goli stupa are of this type points to their having been carved at about the same period. Thus the Goli stupa, being only a small one, should have been built at about the same time. This is a suggestion made to me by Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil for which I am thankful to him.

Out of the many subjects treated by the early Buddhist sculptors several were carved both at Amaravati and at Goli. They are as follows :—

[1] Fergusson, pls. LIX, fig. 2; LXIV, fig. 2.
A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXVI, fig. 3.

Scene.	Goli.	Amaravati Second Period.
1. Sujātā feeding the Bodhisattva	Frieze No. 3 (pl. VIII c). The Bodhisattva is seated facing the right. His legs are hanging down and his hands are both stretched out to receive the water that is poured down by one of the women. One woman stands to his left and the rest stand to his right.	
2. The temptation.	Frieze No. 3 (pl. VII A). The Buddha sits on a raised seat with his right hand raised and the left palm resting on his lap. Māra is mounted on an elephant on the right and his daughters stand on either side of the Buddha. A mahout rides behind Māra and his goblins and warriors also stand on the right.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVI, fig. 2 (2) Fergusson, pl. XCVIII, fig. 2. In the former the Buddha is shown as in Goli, while in the latter he is not shown, but his presence is indicated by an empty throne with foot-prints below, a trisula at the back and the bodhi tree above. In both Māra is sitting on the ground by the side of the Buddha, on the Buddha's left in No. 1 and on his right in No. 2. In No. 1 two goblins are seen attacking the Buddha, one on each side, while in No. 2 three stand on the Buddha's right, one aiming a blow at the Buddha with a staff, another howling and the third departing from the scene. Four of Māra's daughters, one of whom is worshipping the Buddha, are seen in No. 2 on the Buddha's left, while only one is seen in No. 1, and as standing on the Buddha's right.
3. The sermon in the Deer-Park.	No. 8 (pl. XI). The Buddha's presence is indicated by an empty throne. Two deer are shown in front of it. As the stone is only a fragment it is difficult to say what other details were originally carved.	(1-3), British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIV, figs. 1, 4 and 5. The Buddha's presence is indicated by an empty throne as in Goli, but the absence of the deer in front of the throne makes it difficult for us to decide if it is the deer-park that is intended to be sculptured.

Amaravati Third Period.	Amaravati Fourth Period.
	(1) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVI, fig. 4. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLII, fig. 9. (3) Fergusson, pl. LXXXIII, fig. 2. All as in Goli except that— (1) The Bodhisattva is sitting cross-legged on a raised seat in the centre of the scene. (2) The women stand on either side of him. (3) His left palm rests on his lap while his right hand is raised as in addressing.
(1) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LVIII, fig. 1. (2) Fergusson, pl. LXVII. (3) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XV, fig. 1. The Buddha is not shown, but his presence is indicated by a seat under the bodhi tree. Māra's daughters, four in Nos. 1 and 3 and seven in No. 2, stand on either side of the seat, while goblins stand near by. In No. 3 Māra is shown as riding a horse, followed by five goblins and as accepting defeat on the left by holding his hands in worship (anjali). In No. 1 he is mounted on an elephant and is departing from the scene accepting defeat, followed by his men, one of whom gets on a horse.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. I. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXI, fig. 6. (3) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLI, fig. 6. (4) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLII, fig. 3. (5) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XVI, figs. 3 and 4. (6) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 4. (7) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVI, fig. 3. (8) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 5. (9) Fergusson, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 3. The Buddha is always shown as in Goli, while goblins stand before or under the seat and Māra's daughters stand on either side. Sometimes Māra is also shown either standing by the side of the Buddha (No. 1) or riding an elephant (Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8 and 9). No. 9 resembles very closely the Goli sculpture.
(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XIV, fig. 1. (2) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LIX, fig. 1. (3) Fergusson, pl. LXXI, fig. 2. An empty throne, with foot-prints below and a trisula and dharmachakra above, indicates the presence of the Buddha as in Goli. The two deer are shown in front. In two of the sculptures (Nos. 1 and 3) a big audience surrounds the throne.	(1–2) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XVI, figs. 3 and 4. (3) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIII, fig. 1. (4) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLI, fig. 6. (5) Madras Museum, A.S.I., 1905–06, pl. XLVII, fig. 2. In three the Buddha is seated on the throne surrounded by the disciples and the two deer are shown in front (Nos. 1, 2 and 4). In two an empty throne indicates his presence (Nos. 3 and 5).

Scene.	Goli.	Amaravati Second Period.
4. Buddha preaching.	No. 5 (pl. IX). The Buddha is seated cross-legged on a throne with the right arm and the right shoulder bare and the palm raised up indicating perhaps "abhaya" while the left palm rests on the lap. Attendants stand at his side holding perhaps fly-whisks and worshippers are seated in front of him below.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVI, fig. 1. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVI, fig. 2. (3 and 4) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVIII, figs. 1 and 4. (5) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVIII, fig. 3. (6) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCII, fig. 1. (7) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIII. (8) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIV, figs. 1, 4 and 5. (9) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCV, fig. 3. (10) Indian Museum, Calcutta, N. S. 3706. The Buddha's presence is usually indicated by an empty throne with attendants standing and worshippers seated or standing on either side. (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10.) Sometimes the Buddha is shown seated on the throne much in the same attitude as in Goli with or without his right shoulder and arm covered. (Nos. 1 and 5.)
5. Subjugation of the elephant Nalagiri.	Frieze No. 1 H (pl. III). The elephant is shown twice, first doing havoc in the streets and next kneeling before the Buddha, who is completely covered and followed by his disciples.	
6. Chaddanta Jataka.	Frieze No. 1 C and D (pl. I). The elephant is shown first (No. 1 C), with the herd and then as having fallen into the pit where the hunter, dressed as a monk, is sawing its tusks Above the hunter is shown carrying two tusks suspended from a pole. The presentation of the tusks to the queen is shown in the next panel. (No. 1 D.).	

Amaravati Third Period.	Amaravati Fourth Period.
(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XI, fig. 3. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XII, figs. 3 and 4. (3) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XIV, fig. 1. (4) Madras Museum, A S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XVII, fig. 4. (5) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XVIII, fig. 3. (6) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XX, fig. 2 (7 and 8) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXIII, figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4. (9 and 10) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXVI, figs. 1 and 2. (11) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LVIII. (12 and 13) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXIV, figs. 1 and 2. (14) Fergusson, pl. LXXI. (15) Fergusson, pl. LXX. The Buddha's presence is usually indicated by an empty throne with attendants on either side and worshippers in front and on the sides. In three examples, however, he is shown seated on the throne as in Goli. (Nos. 8 figs. 3, 9 and 13.)	(1) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XVI, fig. 3. (2) A.S..SI., Vol. I, pl. XVI, fig. 4. (3) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIII, fig. 1. (4) Do. do. fig. 2. (5) Do. do. fig. 3. (6) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIV, fig. 1. (7–9) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVIII, figs. 1, 6 and 7. (10) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XL, fig. 3. (11) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLI, fig. 6. (12) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLII, fig. 1. (13) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLIII, fig. 1. (14) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLIV, fig. 1. (15) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. I. (16) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXVII. (17) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXVIII, fig. 3. (18 and 19) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXIX, figs. 1 and 3. (20) Indian Museum, Calcutta, A. 2. The Buddha is usually shown seated as in Goli with the attendants and other worshippers on either side of the seat. Sometimes his presence is indicated by an empty throne. (Nos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18, 19 and 20.)
(1) Madras Museum, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "The Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism", pl. H, page 68. The elephant is shown twice as in Goli, first doing havoc in the streets and next falling at the feet of the Buddha.	(1) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIII, fig. 1. (2) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXV, fig. 1. (3) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, fig. 2. As in Goli but on chaitya slabs, except No. 3 which is on a frieze.
(1) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XVI, fig. 6. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XIX, fig. 1. As in Goli except that the former shows only the scene depicted in No. 1 D and the latter only the scene depicted in No. 1 C. The hunter returning home faces in the opposite direction and carries four tusks.	

Scene.	Goli.	Amaravati Second Period.
7. Sasa Jataka.	No. 10 (pl. XI.) The hare is plunging into the fire while the monkey, jackal and otter together with two brahmins are watching. Sakra stands behind pointing to the sky.	
8. Vessantara Jataka.	Frieze No. 2 (pls. IV A; V and VI). This Jataka is elaborately carved in several panels of a long frieze, the beginning of which is incomplete.	
9. Chaitya slab.	No. 7 (pl. X). Is like similar slabs from the Amaravati casing but not so elaborately carved. The central niche shows an empty throne while a bodhi tree occupies the niches on either side.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVI, fig. 4. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol I, pl. XLVII, fig. 4. (3) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVIII, fig. 2. (4) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIII. (5-6) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIV, figs. 3 and 4. (7) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCVII. (8) Fergusson, pl. XCVIII, fig. 2. (9) Madras Museum, A.S.I., 1905-06, pl. XLVII, fig. 4. A general outline of the chaitya is shown with worshippers standing or sitting on either side. In many the steles and niches are not as well marked as in Goli.

Amaravati Third Period.	Amaravati Fourth Period.
	(1) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, fig. 2. As in Goli except that the monkey, otter and two brahmins are not shown. The resemblance between Sakra here and in Goli is particularly striking.
(1) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 1. (2) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1. While in No. 1, a later incident in the story, the children getting on their grandfather's lap after they are set free, is shown as in Goli it is missed out in No. 2 and an earlier incident in the story, the presentation of the elephant, is shown instead.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLIII, fig. 2. (2) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIII, fig. 3. (3) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXVII. (4) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXX, fig. 1. The story is not continuously and elaborately shown as in Goli but only a few episodes, as for instance the gift of the children (Nos. 2, 3 and 4), of the elephant (Nos. 1 and 2), of the bullock-cart and bullocks (No. 1) and the princess returning to the hut after the children are given away (Nos. 3 and 4). The complaint of the subjects to the king against the prince, which is omitted in Goli, is shown in two sculptures (Nos. 1 and 2).
(1) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. L. (2-3) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LVI, figs. 1 and 3. (4) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXIV, fig. 2. (5) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 2. (6) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. VII, fig. 2. (7) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XIV, fig. 6. (8) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XVIII, fig. 4. (9) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XIX, fig. 3. (10) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XX, fig. 1. (11) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXI, fig. 1. (12) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXII, fig. 1. (13-14) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXIII, figs. 1 and 2.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. I. (2-3) Madras Museum A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXI, figs. 6 and 7. (4) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XL,, fig. 2. (5-9) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLI, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6. (10-12) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLII, figs. 2, 3 and 8. (13-23) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLIII, figs. 1, 3-11 and 13. (24-25) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XVI, figs. 3 and 4. (26-27) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIII, figs. 1 and 3. (28) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIV. (29-30) A.S.S.I. Vol. I, pl. XXXV, figs. 1 and 2. (31-34) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVI, figs. 1-4. (35-36) A S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVII, figs. 1 and 2. (37-38) A S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVIII, figs. 2 and 3. (39-41) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIX, figs. 1, 2 and 3. (42) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXV.

Scene.	Goli.	Amaravati Second Period.
9. Chaitya slab—*cont.*		
10. Worship of the stupa.	No. 4 (pl. VII). A stupa plainly designed with worshippers, both male and female, on either side.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVI, fig. 4. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVII, fig. 4. (3-4) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVIII, figs. 2 and 4. (5) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIII. (6-7) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIV, figs. 3 and 4. (8) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCVII. (9) Fergusson, pl. XCVIII, fig. 2. (10) Madras Museum, A.S.I., 1905-06, pl. XLVII, fig. 4. Carved as in Goli. The number and the status of the worshippers vary.

Amaravati Third Period.	Amaravati Fourth Period.
(15) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXV, fig. 1. (16) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXVI, fig. 6. (17) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXVII, fig. 4. (18) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXVIII, fig. 2. (19) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 5. The chaitya is less elaborately carved than in Goli. Sometimes the niches and the dome bear some decoration such as the figure of a naga or a floral design. The chaitya never forms an independent sculpture as in Goli and in the Amaravati casing.	(43) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXVI. (44) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXVII. (45–46) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXVIII, figs. 1 and 3. (47–49) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXIX, figs. 1, 2 and 3. (50–52) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXX, figs. 1, 2 and 3. (53–55) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXXI, figs. 1, 2 and 3. (56 57) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, figs. 4 and 7. (58) Fergusson, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 3. (59) Madras Museum, A.S.I., 1905–06, pl. XLVII, fig. 5. (60) Madras Museum, A.S.I., 1905–06, pl. LI, fig. 2. (61) A.S.I., 1905–06, pl. L—a photograph of a small stupa taken on the site with a number of chaitya slabs in situ. The chaitya is elaborately carved not only in the niches but also on the dome and the steles. The niches show the Buddha or nagas or events from the Buddha's life and the jatakas. In a few cases a plain chaitya with worshippers is carved in a panel in a frieze or pillar. (Nos. 9, 12–23, 38, 56–59).
(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. VII, fig. 2. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XVIII, fig. 4. (3) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXI, fig. 1. (4) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXII, fig. 1. (5) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXIII, fig. 1. (6) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXVI, fig. 6. (7) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXVII, fig. 4. (8) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXVIII, fig. 2. (9–10) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. L, figs. 1 and 2.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XL, fig. 2. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLI, fig. 6. (3–12) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLIII, figs. 1, 3–11 and 13. (13) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXV. (14–15) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, figs. 4 and 7. (16) Fergusson, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 3. (17) Madras Museum, A.S.I., 1905–06, pl. XLVII, fig. 5. Though designed as in Goli the carving is more elaborate.

Scene.	Goli.	Amaravati Second Period.
10. Worship of the stupa —*cont.*		
11. Naga ...	No. 11 (pl. XII). A big slab entirely occupied by a naga with seven hoods and two layers of coils.	(1) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIII. (2) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCVI, fig. 1. (3) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCVII, fig. 1. (4) Fergusson, pl. XCVIII, fig. 2. The naga is rarely shown and when shown is carved on a stupa and has usually five noods. (Nos. 1 and 3.)
12. Naga-rajas.	Frieze No. 1 (pl. I A and pl. IV J). Standing at the ends of a frieze with seven serpent hoods spread above their human heads, not as in Amaravati forming part of a larger scene. In dress and ornamentation they are like the kings carved in the other sculptures at Goli and also the kings at Amaravati.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVIII, fig. 3. (2) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. L, fig. 1. (3) Fergusson, pl. XCVIII, fig. 2. As in Goli but with five hoods only and in an attitude of worship.

Amaravati Third Period.	Amaravati Fourth Period.
(11) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXIV, fig. 2. (12–13) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LVI, figs. 1 and 3. (14) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 2. The design is the same as in Goli. The number and the status of worshippers and the number of umbrellas above vary. Sometimes a naga is carved in the centre of the stupa. (Nos. 4 and 11.)	
(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XX, fig. 1. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. V, fig. 2. (3) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XII, fig. 2. (4) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XIV, fig. 2. (5) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXII, fig. 1. (6) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. L, fig. 1. (7) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXIV, fig. 2. (8) Fergusson, pl. LXX. Five hoods usually. Nowhere does a naga fill a whole slab as in Goli.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. I. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XL, fig. 2. (3) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLI. fig. 1. (4) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 5. (5–6) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVI, figs. 1 and 2. (7) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIV, fig. 1. (8) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXV, fig. 2. (9) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVII, fig. 2. (10–11) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVIII, figs. 2 and 3. (12) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIX, fig. 3. (13) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXV. (14) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXVIII, fig. 1. (15) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXIX, fig. 1. (16) Fergusson, pl. LXXXIII, fig. 2. Five hoods in all the sculptures but one, one hood in that (No. 8). Shown usually on chaitya representations.
(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXII, fig. 1. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXVI, fig. 5. (3) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LX, fig. 2. (4) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LVIII, fig. 2. (5) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXII, fig. 1.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. I. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XL, fig. 2. (3) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIV, fig. 2. (4) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXV, fig. 2. (5) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVII, fig. 1. (6) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXVII. (7) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXIX, fig. 2.

Scene.	Goli.	Amaravati Second Period.
12. Nagarajas —*cont.*		
13. Pairs of human figures.	Frieze No. 1— (pl. I B) (pl. II E) (pl. III G) (pl. IV I) Frieze No. 3— (pl. VIII B.) Men and women of various ranks are carved in pairs to separate other panels. They are all engaged in love-making.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVI, fig. 3. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVII, fig 3. (3) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. L, fig. 2. (4) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIII, (5) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. XCIV, fig. 4. Men and women of high rank are symmetrically arranged in pairs on either side of an empty throne or the bodhi tree and are all in an attitude of worship.
14. Yakshi ...	Frieze No. 2 (pl. VI I). The only yakshi in the collection stands at one end of a frieze, the other end of which is missing. She is associated with a tree as at Sanchi and is playing on a harp. The figure serves the same artistic purpose as a Hindu dvārapālikā.	

Amaravati Third Period.	Amaravati Fourth Period.
(6) Fergusson, pl. LXVII. (7) Fergusson, pl. LXXII, fig. 2. As in Goli but in various attitudes, usually in worship. In No. 7 the nagaraja is shown with nine hoods.	(8) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXXI, fig. 1. (9) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXXIII, fig. 2. As in Goli but in various attitudes.
(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XII, fig. 1. (2) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XX, fig. 1. (3) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXII, fig 1. (4) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 3. (5) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. L. Such pairs stand symmetrically, usually on the side panels in an upright pillar, in a worshipping attitude (Nos. 1 and 5). In one instance (No. 2) they are found on the coping engaged in lifting the roll. These pairs are usually of persons of dignity.	(1) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. I. (2 and 3) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XL, figs. 1 and 3. (4) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLII, fig. 2. (5 and 6) Madras Museum, A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLII, figs. 4 and 9. (7) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVII, fig. 1. (8) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 1. (9 and 10) A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXVIII, figs. 4 and 7. (11) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXVI. (12) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXIX, fig. 2. (13) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXXI, fig. 1. (14 and 15) British Museum, Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, figs. 1 and 3. (16 and 17) Fergusson, pl. LXXXIII, figs. 1 and 2. (18) Fergusson, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 2. They are only found on either side of a panel or sculpture as in Goli and are engaged sometimes in love-making and sometimes inworship. They are usually persons of high rank and are arranged symmetrically.
(1) Fergusson, pl. LXXII, fig. 2. Two nagini-yakshis associated with trees are dancing, one on each side of a nagaraja, who is seated among his women. They are symmetrically arranged and are purely decorative.	(1) Fergusson, pl. LXXXV. (2) Fergusson, pl. XCVIII, fig. 1. (3) Indian Museum, Calcutta, A. 2. In No. 1 two yakshis, one a nagini, stand in front of a gateway and under an arch, and are not associated with trees. In Nos. 2 and 3 two similar yakshis are dancing, one on either side of the top of a pillar surmounted by a dharmachakra, their feet held by supports issuing from the capital.

Also two yakshis, much in the same attitude as that of the Goli one, stand in a gable-end or window ("kudu") shaped like a chaitya, associated with trees. Both are now in the Madras Museum. One of them is figured in A.S.S.I., Vol. I in pl. XLIX, fig. 7. It is not known to what part of the Amaravati monument these two yakshis belonged.

The above tabular statement helps to show how the subjects treated in Goli compare with the same as represented in Amaravati. Such of those as present points particularly striking, and helpful to fix the probable date of the monument, are now considered.

The subjugation of the infuriated elephant, Nalagiri, is carved in Goli (pl. III H) and in one third period sculpture [1] and three fourth period sculptures from Amaravati [2]. The last two are simplified representations on chaitya slabs. In the other two, such details, as the elephant issuing out of, or standing in front of, a wall with a chaitya arch, trampling upon some of the panic-stricken crowd and then being shown in the same sculpture as prostrating before the Buddha, both of whose shoulders are covered, are worked alike. The Goli sculpture resembles the sculpture from the Amaravati fourth period [3] and differs from that of the rail [4], in the fact that it forms part of a frieze instead of being a medallion, and also in the arrangement of the group, the Buddha standing on the left while the elephant is on the right, Ānanda standing on the left of the Buddha and one of the spectators standing on the right of the Buddha and lifting up his hands in joy.

Another event from the Buddha's life, also a favourite among early Buddhist sculptors, is the temptation of the Buddha by Māra, the Satan of Buddhism. This is sculptured in Goli (frieze 3 A, pl. VII) and in fourteen Amaravati sculptures, two from the second period [5], three from the rail [6], and nine from the fourth period [7]. In the second period Amaravati sculptures Māra is sitting on the floor by the side of the Buddha in one [8], and by the side of an empty throne which indicates the Buddha's presence in the other [9]. In none of the three rail sculptures is the Buddha shown, but only an empty seat; in all the three Māra's daughters, four in two sculptures [10], and seven in the third [11], stand on either side of the seat while goblins stand near by. Māra himself is seen in two, in one [12], riding a horse, followed by five goblins and as pressing his hands together in worship (anjali)

[1] A. K. Kumaraswamy, "Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism," pl. H, p. 68

[2] Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, fig. 2.
A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XXXIII, fig. I; XXXV, fig. 1.

[3] Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, fig. 2.

[4] A. K. Kumaraswamy. "Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism," pl. H, p. 68.

[5] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVI, fig 2.
Fergusson, pl. XCVIII, fig. 2.

[6] Fergusson, pls. LVIII, fig. 1; LXVII.
A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XV, fig. 1.

[7] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls I; XVI, figs. 3 and 4; XXXI, fig. 6; XXXII, fig. 4; XXXVI, fig. 3; XXXVIII, fig. 5; XLI, fig. 6; XLII, fig. 3.
Fergusson, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 3.

[8] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLVI. fig. 2.

[9] Fergusson, pl. XCVIII, fig. 2.

[10] Fergusson, pl. LVIII, fig. 1.
A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XV, fig. 1.

[11] Fergusson, pl. LXVII.

[12] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XV, fig. 1.

and in the other [1], mounted on an elephant and departing from the scene followed by his goblins, one of whom hurriedly gets on a horse. In all the sculptures from the fourth period the Buddha is shown; Māra's daughters stand on either side and goblins stand before or under the seat. In one [2], Māra is shown as standing on the left of the Buddha while in five [3], he is mounted on an elephant. In four [4] out of these five, two views of Māra are given, one offensive and the other submissive. They differ markedly from the Goli sculpture, Māra on the elephant being, for instance, shown twice, once on each side of the Buddha. The fifth one [5], however, bears so close a resemblance to the Goli sculpture as to suggest either that one is a copy of the other or that both were designed by the same artist. Thus in both two women (Māra's daughters) stand to the right of the Buddha who has a halo round his head and is sitting cross-legged on a raised platform under the bodhi tree, while his right hand indicates 'abhaya' or the pose of dispelling fear. Māra, mounted on an elephant, is departing, accepting defeat, turning back as he goes and saluting the Buddha with hands pressed together in submission (anjali). He is wearing wristlets and a head-dress, characteristic of the royalty of the times. The Goli Māra must have had a similar head-dress. The stone, though damaged, shows sufficiently the rough background of one. Though he is seated on the elephant, his legs are not shown on the exposed side of the elephant but are behind its ears. The mahout is seated on the elephant's back behind Māra; he is a man of comparatively small size, perhaps a boy or a dwarf. The elephant with fine tusks stands to the right of the Buddha and is moving towards the right. The lower band in the Amaravati frieze (this is surely the upper edge of the sunk band which we usually find in such friezes) shows the design of lotus-petals as in the upper edge of the sunk band in the Goli frieze.

The Chaddanta, Vessantara and Sasa Jatakas are common to both stupas. Of these the first occurs twice at Amaravati but on the rail only [6], and shows no similarity of treatment with the Goli example. The Goli example differs in the fact that it forms part of a frieze instead of a medallion and in the arrangement of the details of the story. Thus in pl. XIX, fig. 1 of A.S.S.I., Vol. I, elephants, more in number than in Goli, are seen sporting in a tank. Chaddanta himself is shown in four stages, first as sporting with the other elephants, then moving towards the pit where the hunter with a bow and arrow in his hands is hiding, then falling into it and lastly allowing his tusks to be sawn by the hunter. After he had sawn them the hunter carries four of them and not two only, as in Goli, suspended from a pole and moves to the left and not the right as in Goli. Pl. XVI,

[1] Fergusson, pl. LVIII, fig. 1.

[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. I.

[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XXXI, fig. 6; XXXII, fig. 4; XXXVI, fig. 3; XXXVIII, fig. 5. Fergusson, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 3.

[4] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XXXI, fig. 6; XXXII, fig. 4; XXXVI, fig. 3; XXXVIII, fig. 5.

[5] Fergusson, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 3.

[6] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XIX, fig. 1; XVI, fig. 6.

fig. 6, of A.S.S.I., Vol. I, shows many attendant women standing around the king and queen. The hunter is shown on the right in a hunter's dress and not on the left in a monk's dress as in Goli and he kneels on one knee, while in Goli he kneels on both knees. The king's right hand is stretched to receive in it water that is poured down by one of the attendant women. The right corner of the medallion reveals the hunter who is carrying on his head two tusks placed on a round tray, being ushered into the king's apartments.

The Vessantara Jataka is sculptured in Goli[1], and in six places in Amaravati, two from the rail[2], and four from the base[3]. But again no close resemblance to the Goli example can be found. Thus the two rail sculptures differ from the Goli one in the arrangement of the panels and in the carving of details. No order suggesting continuity of story as in Goli is observed. Such details as the gifts of the bullock-cart and of the children, the princess returning home with a 'kāvadi' on her shoulders are all crowded into one panel. In pl. LXV, fig. 1 of Fergusson's 'Tree and Serpent Worship', gifts of the elephant to two brahmins and of Mādri to Sakra are shown, while in pl. XXXII, fig. 1 of A.S.S.I., Vol. I, they are omitted and the prince, with his wife, taking leave of his men on the eve of his banishment, and his children being set free and getting on their grandfather's lap, are shown instead. Three[4] out of the four fourth period sculptures, are simplified representations on chaitya slabs of one or two episodes in the story, *e.g.*, the gift of the children in all the three, and in one the queen returning home after their gift was over. The fourth[5], which is on a frieze, is smaller and less detailed than the Goli frieze and unlike the latter runs from right to left. The elephant's trunk is not held by any in the group. Both the prince and his wife carry their children, while in the forest, on their necks. Another episode, viz., the complaint that the subjects make to the king against the prince's generosity is shown here in the central panel and is omitted in Goli.

In the case of the Sasa Jataka, unlike that of the two Jatakas just considered, the resemblance is most striking. The fact that this Jataka is not found in Amaravati as frequently as the other two shows that it was not so much favoured by the early Buddhist sculptors. It is sculptured in Goli[6], and fortunately in one solitary place in Amaravati[7]. The sculpturing of such an uncommon theme in both the places is itself significant. The fact that the Amaravati specimen belongs to the fourth period and that the points of

[1] Frieze No. 2, pls. IV A; V and VI.
[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 1.
Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1.
[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. XLIII, fig. 2; XXXIII, fig. 3.
Fergusson, pls. LXXVII; LXXX, fig. 1.
[4] Fergusson, pls. LXXVII; LXXX, fig. 1.
A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XXXIII, fig. 3.
[5] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. XLIII, fig. 2.
[6] Pl. XI, No. 10.
[7] Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, fig. 2.

resemblance between it and the Goli specimen are particularly striking gives further support to the view that both date from one period. The hare is shown in both in the act of plunging into the fire and as facing the right with its forelegs raised. The brahmin squats facing the fire on the right with his right arm stretched out. A hut is shown behind the brahmin and two trees are worked into the panel. Sakra, the king of the gods, stands in a dignified manner with three bends in his body, with his arms lifted up and pointing at the sky, while a 'kirīṭa' or a long royal head-dress which characterises Vishnu images and Pallava kings in the Pallava sculptures, as in Mahābalipuram [1], rests on his head. He is naked above the waist and his undergarment is tied in the fashion called the 'kaccha,' a band going round the waist with folds hanging on the sides. Owing to lack of space we do not find in the Amaravati sculpture the remaining details that are found in the Goli one.

Thus it will be seen that from among the scenes from the Jatakas and the Buddha's life that are represented both at Goli and at Amaravati five closely resemble each other. Of these one is from the rail at Amaravati, all the rest being from the fourth period. The Sasa Jataka and the temptation of the Buddha by Māra especially, and to a lesser extent the Vessantara Jataka and the subjugation of Nalagiri, point to a close relationship between the Goli stupa and the fourth period at Amaravati. The latter being commonly assigned to the third century A.D. it is probable that the Goli sculptures should be assigned to the same period.

A study of the palaeography of the inscription found on a chaitya slab (plate X) greatly helps to corroborate the evidence of the sculptures. A small and incomplete inscription consisting of five or six letters in Brahmi script and reading "Si Ka Ma La Ta (?Ca)" is all that we have. It will be difficult to give the purport of this inscription, since we do not know whether the engraver himself left it unfinished or whether the portion of the slab at the commencement of the inscription wore or broke away. The inscription does not seem to have been broken as there is a shallow pit in which the letter "Si" is clearly incised to the same depth as the other letters. It would appear, therefore, that what we now find is all that was originally there. If so the whole may stand for the name of the engraver or any other person who might have given this chaitya slab as a votive offering as is usually the case with similar slabs and pillars in Amaravati [2].

Let us attempt to read the last unfinished letter and see if it can help us to determine the purport of the inscription. There is a considerable possibility of the letter being "Ca", as it only remains to join the curve with the perpendicular stem in its centre to make it "Ca". Such a reading helps us not in the least, nor will it admit of the possibility of the

[1] Longhurst, "Pallava Architecture," Part I, pl. V (*b*). (A.S.I.-Memoir No. 17); Part II, pls. IX, XXI (*b*), XXV (*a*). (A.S.I.-Memoir No. 33.)
H. Krishna Sastri, "Two Statues of Pallava Kings," pl. II. (A.S.I.-Memoir No. 26.)
T. G. Aravamuthan, "South Indian Portraits," fig. 5 and p. 38. (TRIVENI-Jan. 1928.)

[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pp. 70 and 100; pls. LVI, No. 4; LVIII, No. 37; LIX, Nos. 38, 39 and 42.

supposition that the first part of the inscription contained the letters "U Pā" and is now broken away which, if it were so, would give the meaning "the female lay follower of the Buddhist faith (U Pā Si Kā) by name "Ma La Tā.", as the letter to be expected there should be some letter other than "Ca". If without admitting the existence of any other letters and reading the unfinished letter as "Ka" (with a curvilinear end, rather overdone) we read the whole as "Si Kamala taka" *i.e.*, "the mason named Kamala" we have another difficulty to confront. The Prakrit form of "Sri" can be "Siri" only, and not "Si" as we have it here. Again the equivalent of the Sanskrit "Taksha" (mason) in Prakrit would be "Taccha" and not "Taka" as we have. The third possibility is that the unfinished letter could be "Ya". It only requires drawing a similar curve on the right of the perpendicular stem as on the left to make it look like "Ya". By introducing the letters "U Pā" at the beginning we can read the whole as "U Pā Si Ka Ma La Ta Ya" and read in it the sense "by the female lay follower, Malata by name". But the correct form which could give this meaning would be "Upāsikāya Malatāya". Thus "Ya" in "sikāya" and the lengthening of the vowel "a" in "Malatāya" are the two things wanting here. We can get over the latter easily as it is common that in such inscriptions the short vowel also stands for the long one, *e.g.*, "bhariyāya" in Amaravati inscriptions, Nos. 38 and 40.[1]" We cannot dismiss the other difficulty so easily, as "Ya" in "Upāsikāya" is necessary to connect the term "Upāsikā" with the proper person "Malatā" unless the two terms can be considered to constitute a single word, and convey the general sense "by or of Malatā, the female lay follower." Again "Ka" and "Ta" should not be short but long (Kā, Tā), but as has been already pointed out, the short vowel is sometimes used in inscriptions for the long one.

In short, the last reading gives the inscription some sense and gives room to the supposition that the whole perhaps records a gift of something, probably the chaitya slab itself, on which it is incised, by the "female lay follower, Malatā" by name. If we accept this interpretation the inscription is only a donative record and its purport cannot, therefore, help in determining the age of the stupa.

To compare this inscription with the many others that we find at Bhattiprolu, Garikapādu Ashram and Bharhut is out of question as it is clear that they are much earlier and probably date several centuries before the birth of Christ. The Ikshvāku inscriptions found at Jaggayyapetah [2] in 1882 and Nagarjunakonda [3] in 1926 can, however, be compared with the Goli one as they show the Brahmi script in the same ornate form as in Goli. The five letters "Si Ka Ma La Ta" are the same in the Ikshvāku inscriptions [4]. Can we therefore assign this to the Ikshvākus?

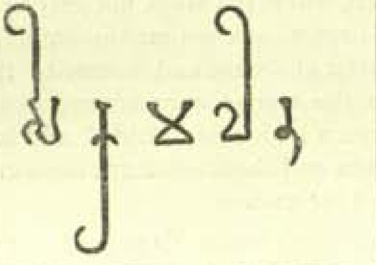
[1] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pl. LIX.

[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pp. 110–111; pls. LXII and LXIII.

[3] A.R.S.I.E., 1926, p. 92; 1927, pp. 71–74. The inscriptions will shortly be edited in the Epigraphia Indica by Dr. Vogel. I am indebted to a photograph by Professor Jouveau Dubreuil for my information regarding their script.

[4] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pls. LXII, Nos. 1 and 2; LXIII, No. 3.

A closer examination of the letters will reveal certain points of difference. The letters are almost all straight at Nagarjunakonda and Jaggayyapetah while at Goli they are round. The vowel "i" is a semi-circle at Goli and a straight and long hook in the Ikshvāku inscriptions. Besides, the consonant "Ka" is almost straight in the Ikshvāku inscriptions while it is bent at Goli.

GOLI.	
Jaggayyapetah (from Burgess)	

The Goli inscription with corresponding letters from the Ikshvāku inscriptions at Jaggayyapetah.

The above table will illustrate our comparison and the conclusion we come to is that the small stupa at Goli cannot be a work of the Ikshvākus, although we find their inscriptions at Jaggayyapetah and Nagarjunakonda.

Of the other inscriptions with which the Goli one can be compared with advantage the Amaravati ones stand foremost, especially those that are classified by Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda as the fourth variety of the Brahmi alphabets [1]. Mr. Chanda compares Amaravati inscriptions, Nos. 24, 27, and 50 [2] with the Jaggayyapetah ones of the time of the Ikshvāku King, Sirivīra Purisadata and accepts the third century A.D. as their probable date [3], the date arrived at by Buhler. The ornamental character of the Amaravati inscriptions, which served as an important point of comparison with the Jaggayyapetah ones, is present in Goli. The latter, mainly for this reason, may be assigned to a similar date.

It has already been seen that the sculptures have a close relationship to those of the fourth period at Amaravati which is commonly assigned to the third century A.D. [4] As the palaeographical evidence also points, as explained above, to this century as the probable date of the Goli inscription, and as the stupa is only a small one, the same date may be assigned to the whole.

[1] Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 260.
[2] Ibid, pp. 260, 267, 272 and 274.
[3] Ibid, p. 260.
[4] V. A. Smith, "A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon," p. 150.

APPENDIX.

Most of the early Buddhist monuments in South India, *e.g.*, the stupas of Amaravati Jaggayyapetah, Bhattiprolu and Ghantasala, are on or near the banks of the river Krishna below Nagarjunakonda and Goli. It is interesting to note that most, if not all, the stupas found in this region were built within a few miles of rivers to make it possible for the Buddhist monks and nuns, who usually lived in vihāras and cells around the stupas to reap the benefits of the neighbourhood of a river, *viz.*, cleanliness and a cool atmosphere (pāvanatva and śaitya). Again if colonies of monks and nuns (bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs) with their lay followers, (upāsakās and upāsikās) settled round the stupas, as was the case at Amaravati, where the stupa not only drew these people to it, but made it possible for a city which became at one time the capital of the Andhra kings[1] to be built round it, it was as a matter of course and necessity that the early stupa-builders took special care to see that the stupas were erected as far as possible near some water-side. The fact that the Krishna region has yielded and is yielding still in recent excavations made at Nagarjunakonda and Gummididurru more stupas than any other region in South India may be accounted for thus—

The great Buddhist apostle, Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika school, who is said to have governed the Buddhist church for 60 or 62 years and to have travelled widely in South India for spreading the Buddhist faith, converted Oḍiviśa (Orissa) to his faith, erected many viharas there and in the neighbouring countries and "surrounded the great shrine of Dhānyakaṭaka (Amaravati) with a railing"[2]. While discussing his date which he assumes to be 137–197 A.D., Burgess adduces reasons to prove that he was patronised by one of the Andhra or Sātavāhana kings, probably Srī Yajña or Puḷomāvi III[3]. He is supported in his views by Eitel who places Nāgārjuna's rule over the church between 137–194 A.D.[4] and by Ramaprasad Chanda[5].

The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Thsang, who visited Amaravati speaks of Nāgārjuna as a youth from South India[6] and as having commanded considerable influence in the Kosala and Andhra kingdoms[7]. The above facts prove that Nāgārjuna found a congenial place in the Krishna region for the spread of his faith and the preservation of the southern congregation, being helped by the Sātavāhanas, the rulers of the place, most of them, at any rate, though not Buddhists themselves (since many of them

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[1] Jouveau-Dubreuil, "Ancient History of the Deccan," pp. 40–41.
[2] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pp. 5 and 11.
Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 88.
Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 261.
[3] A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 9.
[4] Eitel, "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism."
[5] Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 261.
[6] Beal, "Buddhist Records of the Western World," Vol. II, p. 97.
[7] Ibid, pp. 210–211.

performed the Aśvamēdha or horse-sacrifice) tolerated the Buddhist faith probably because of Nagarjuna's personality.

We even find that they made additions and repairs to the shrine at Amaravati[1] and that they made Amaravati, a Buddhist centre, their own capital city.[2] It must have been possible, therefore, for Nāgārjuna to build stupas all along the Krishna region without encountering any opposition. It should be noted that stupas which were originally intended to serve as sepulchral monuments came to be constructed later purely as works of merit. Fortunately for Nāgārjuna and his successors the Ikshvākus, who appear to have been contemporaries of the later Sātavāhanas and to have succeeded them on the lower Krishna [3], and the Pallavas who succeeded the Sātavāhanas "and reigned on the southern bank of the Krishna (particularly at Amaravati) and in the Sātāhani district" [4] felt for the Buddhist faith the same admiration that their predecessors evinced. The early Pallavas had not only no objection to adopting Buddhist names like Buddha Varman and Aśoka Varman as is proved by the Pallava genealogy given in the Vāyalūr inscription but also seem to have patronized Buddhism and Buddhist art, if they did not actually build new stupas. The existence of many saṅghārāmas round Kānchīpuram (Kin-chi-pu-lo-), the Pallava capital, referred to by Hiuen Thsang [5], who travelled in Southern India in the 7th century A.D., bears eloquent testimony to the Pallavas having protected Buddhism and Buddhist architecture.

It is, therefore, surprising to learn that not a trace of these Buddhist monuments can be found now near Kānchīpuram or south of it while big monuments, all works of the Buddhists, come to light in the Krishna region as a result of excavations done there. Fergusson gives expression to his surprise thus:—

"Though there were Buddhists in Drāviḍa-deśa, there are no traces of Buddhist buildings or establishments now to be found south of Amaravati".[6]

The reason for this is not far to seek. Kānchīpuram, the capital of the Pallavas, was much coveted by the various South Indian powers such as the Chalukyas, the Cholas, and the Pandyas as Pallava power increased. The Pallavas lost their hold on the Krishna region and, therefore, concentrated on Kānchī and Tonḍaimanḍalam, the country round it. Amaravati, which was once a capital city, gradually decayed; while Kānchīpuram was dragging people of various faiths towards it. Brahmanism, or Hinduism as it came to be called later, which was at variance to Buddhism, was slowly gaining strength and came to stay in Kānchī and the country around. And Buddhism was falling from the

1 A.S.S.I., Vol. I, pp. 100 and 112.

2 Jouveau-Dubreuil, "Ancient History of the Deccan," pp. 40–41.

3 A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 111.

4 Jouveau-Dubreuil, "Ancient History of the Deccan," p. 54.
Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 261.

5 Beal "Buddhist Records of the Western World," pp. 229 and 230.

6 Fergusson, p. 58.

grandeur in which it was set up by the Buddha and his followers to a degraded condition. The antagonism between the two faiths developed slowly and gave room to a religious bigotry. That the Buddhist order of monks and nuns was held in ridicule even as early as the beginning of the seventh century A.D. is evidenced in a farce, entitled "Mattavilāsa," the authorship of which is assigned to no less a personage than the famous Pallava king, Mahēndra Varman I. This religious bigotry seems to have burst out on the advent of Kumarila, an upholder of ritualistic doctrines (Mīmāmsā) and the famous South Indian apostle, Srī Śankarāchārya[1] in the 9th century A.D., who converted the Buddhists to his faith or drove them out. The Buddhists are not subsequently heard of and appear to have had since then fugitive existences only in South India. It may be presumed that their stupas and saṅghārāmas, of which Hiuen Thsang gives a vivid account in his travels, were likewise destroyed. The present Kāmākshī temple in Conjeevaram where Śankara is said to have established an episcopal order called the Kāmakōṭipīṭha for the propagation of his faith rose on the ruins of a Buddhist shrine. This is supported by the find of Buddha statues in the said temple,[2] one of which was removed to the Madras Museum, where it is exhibited in the Buddhist gallery.

Such a fate did not, however, befall the stupas in the Krishna region. The Chalukyas who ruled the country subsequent to the Pallavas tolerated Buddhism and allowed these stupas to remain, though they do not seem to have made any additions or repairs as did their predecessors. From inscriptions of the 12th century we learn that the glory and the sanctity of the monument had not then decreased.[3]

Amaravati probably sank into insignificance when the Chalukyas changed their capital to Vengi, and the lesser stupas are unlikely to have fared better. So all fell into disuse and ruin as a result of the slow dying away of Buddhism and gradually came to be entombed. Hindu temples arose in these parts not on the ruins of these Buddhist stupas as further south but by their sides, as can be proved by the existence of the temple of Amarēśvara in Amaravati.[4] It is, therefore, possible for excavators to get these stupas out almost intact, if treasure-seekers and ignorant people have not already penetrated there in search of hidden treasures, or stones for house building or for lime. Unfortunately the stone of which these stupas are built burns into excellent lime.

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[1] Fergusson, p. 65. "In the sixteenth century after Buddha came a reformation . . . Śankara Āchārya was the Indian Luther."

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XLIV.—T. A. Gopinatha Rao, "Bauddha Vestiges in Kanchipura," pp. 128 and 129.

[3] Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 261.

[4] Ep. Ind., Vol. XV. "Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions," by R. Chanda, p. 261. An inscription, dated Saka 1104 (1182 A.D.) translated runs thus: "There is a city (named) Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka, which is superior to the city of the gods, (and) where (the temple of) Śambhu (Śiva) (named) Amarēśvara is worshipped by the lord of gods (Indra); where the god Buddha, worshipped by the Creator, is quite close, (and) where (there is) a very lofty *chaitya*, well decorated with various sculptures."

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A.S.S.I., Vol. I	...	Archæological Survey of Southern India, Volume I (1887)—"The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta" by J. Burgess.
A.S.I. ...	...	Archæological Survey of India—Annual Report.
A.R.S.I.E.	...	Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy.
Ep. Ind. ...	...	Epigraphia Indica.
Fergusson	...	"Tree and Serpent Worship" by J. Fergusson.
Ind. Ant. ...	...	Indian Antiquary.

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C. Chaddanta Jataka, scene 1.
D. Do. scene 2.

A B

C D

FRIEZE No. 1.

PLATE II.

Frieze No. 1.

✓ E. Pair of human figures.

✓ F. Buddha's visit to Yasodhara.

E

F

FRIEZE No. 1.

PLATE III.

FRIEZE NO. 1.

G. Pair of human figures.

H. Subjugation of the elephant Nalagiri.

G

H

FRIEZE No. 1.

PLATE IV.

FRIEZE NO. 1.

I. Pair of human figures.

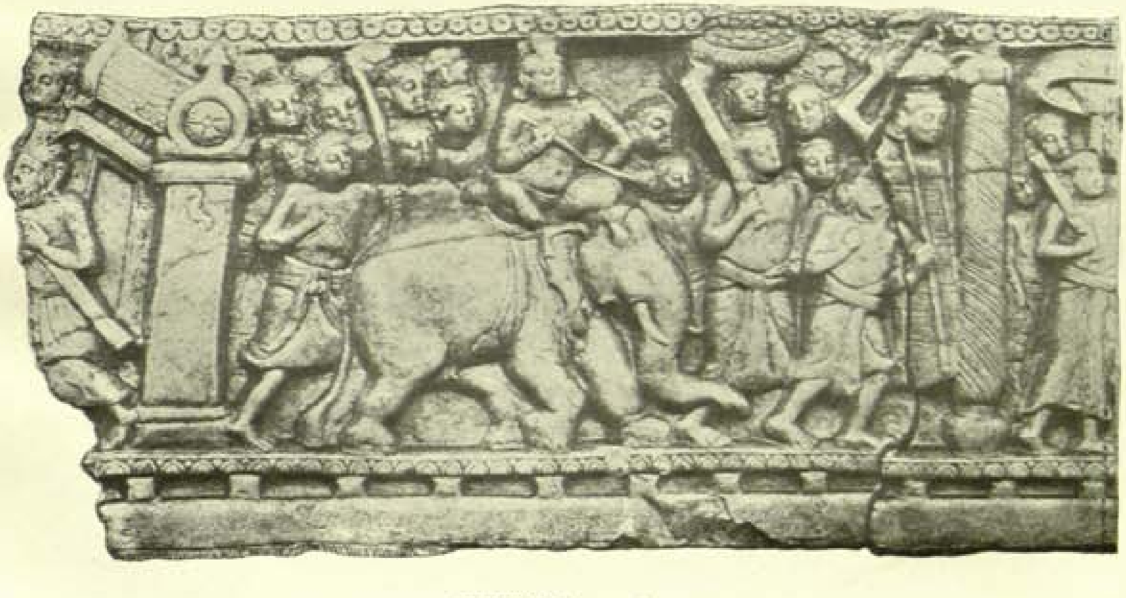
J. Nagaraja.

FRIEZE NO. 2—VESSANTARA JATAKA.

A. The Prince goes to his almshouse.

I J

A



FRIEZES Nos. 1 & 2.

PLATE V.

FRIEZE NO. 2—VESSANTARA JATAKA.

B. The presentation of the elephant.

C. The presentation of the two bullocks.

D. The presentation of the cart.

B

C D

FRIEZE No. 2.

PLATE VI.

FRIEZE NO. 2—VESSANTARA JATAKA.

E. The Prince and Princess carrying their children.

F. The presentation of the children.

G. The return of the Princess to the hermitage.

H. The children liberated by their grandfather.

I. A Yakshi.

E F

G H I

FRIEZE No. 2.

PLATE VII.

No. 4.
Worship of the stupa.

Frieze No. 3.
A. The temptation of the Buddha.

No. 4.

A

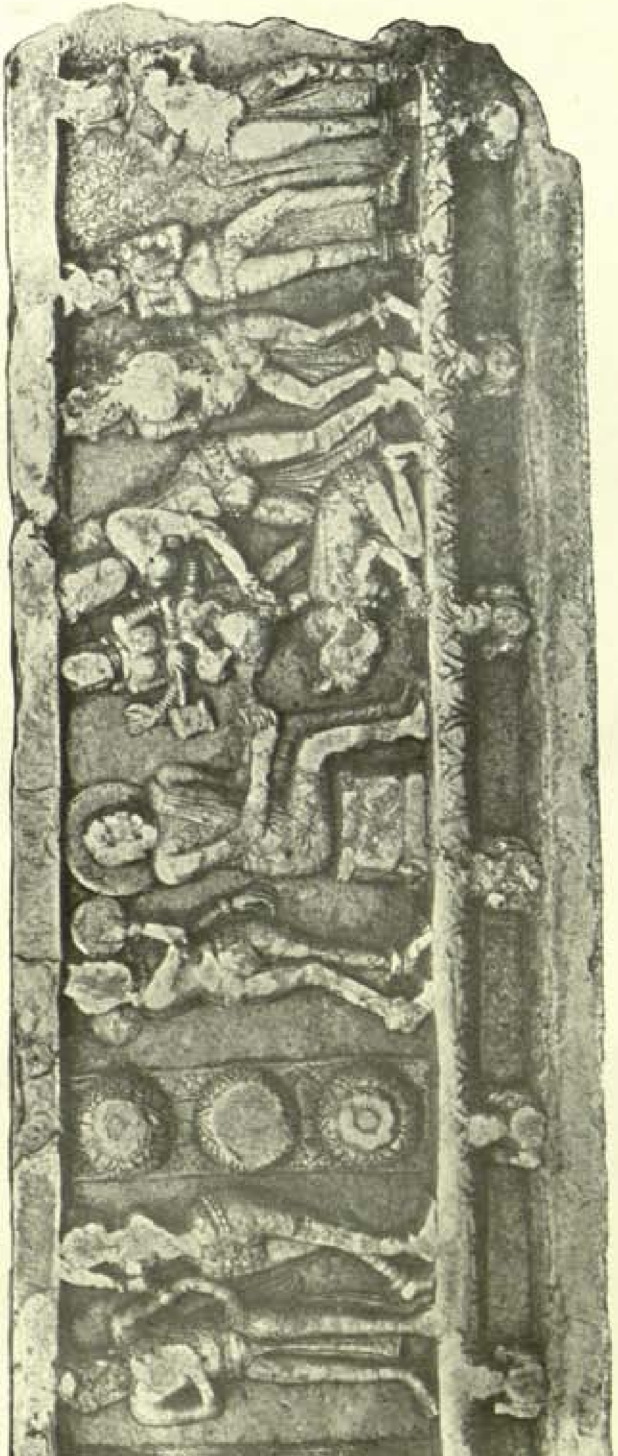
FRIEZE No. 3.

PLATE VIII.

FRIEZE No. 3.

B. Pair of human figures.

C. Sujata feeding the Bodhisattva.



C

B

FRIEZE No. 3.

PLATE IX.

No. 5.

Buddha preaching.

No. 6.

Prince Siddhartha.

No. 6.

No. 5.

PLATE X.

No. 7.
Chaitya Slab.

No. 7. AND ITS INSCRIPTION.

PLATE XI.

No. 8.
The sermon in the Deer Park.

✓ No. 9.
Mati-Posaka Jataka.

✓ No. 10.
Sasa Jataka.

No. 8.

No. 9.

No. 10.

PLATE XII.

No. 11.
Naga.

No. 11.